

Christopher Offers China Simplified Trade Rule

Goal Is to Avoid Fight By Making Less Specific Demands Over Rights

By Dan Williams
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — Trying to avert a bitter break with the world's fastest-growing economy, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher has offered China routine extension of trade privileges with the United States to end the yearly struggle over the issue, U.S. officials said Sunday.

On the second day of his rocky three-day visit to China, Mr. Christopher indicated that this could be the last year for detailed American demands on human rights. President Bill Clinton has threatened to end China's most-favored-nation trading status, known as MFN, unless Mr. Christopher certifies rights progress by early June.

He hinted at a new approach during a meeting Sunday with the American Chamber of

American business executives in China told Christopher U.S. policy is harsh. Page 14.

Commerce in Beijing, saying that if the Chinese are forthcoming at all, "I would look forward to a situation in which MFN is continued, but continued on a basis where its renewal can be more routine than it's been over a period of the last four years."

"Depending on the nature of the progress made, we are prepared to work out techniques that will achieve that result," he added. "If there is progress, I think we can all look forward to the time when human rights and MFN is put away from the center of the relationship."

Later, at a news conference, Mr. Christopher said that future conditions on the trading status could be set in general, rather than specific terms. Mr. Clinton's demands, made in an executive order, specified the need for overall, significant progress in areas that included release of political prisoners, international inspection of prisons and protection of the religious and cultural heritage in Tibet.

"One can envision the possibility of an executive order that is not as detailed as this one, and perhaps human rights could be a generic condition rather than one that's filled with specific conditions," Mr. Christopher said.

Movement by China on human rights in return for an end to the trade threat can "move the relationship to a new and more significant level," Mr. Christopher concluded.

The compromise on the trading status would

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A Harder Line Works for U.S. On Japan Pact

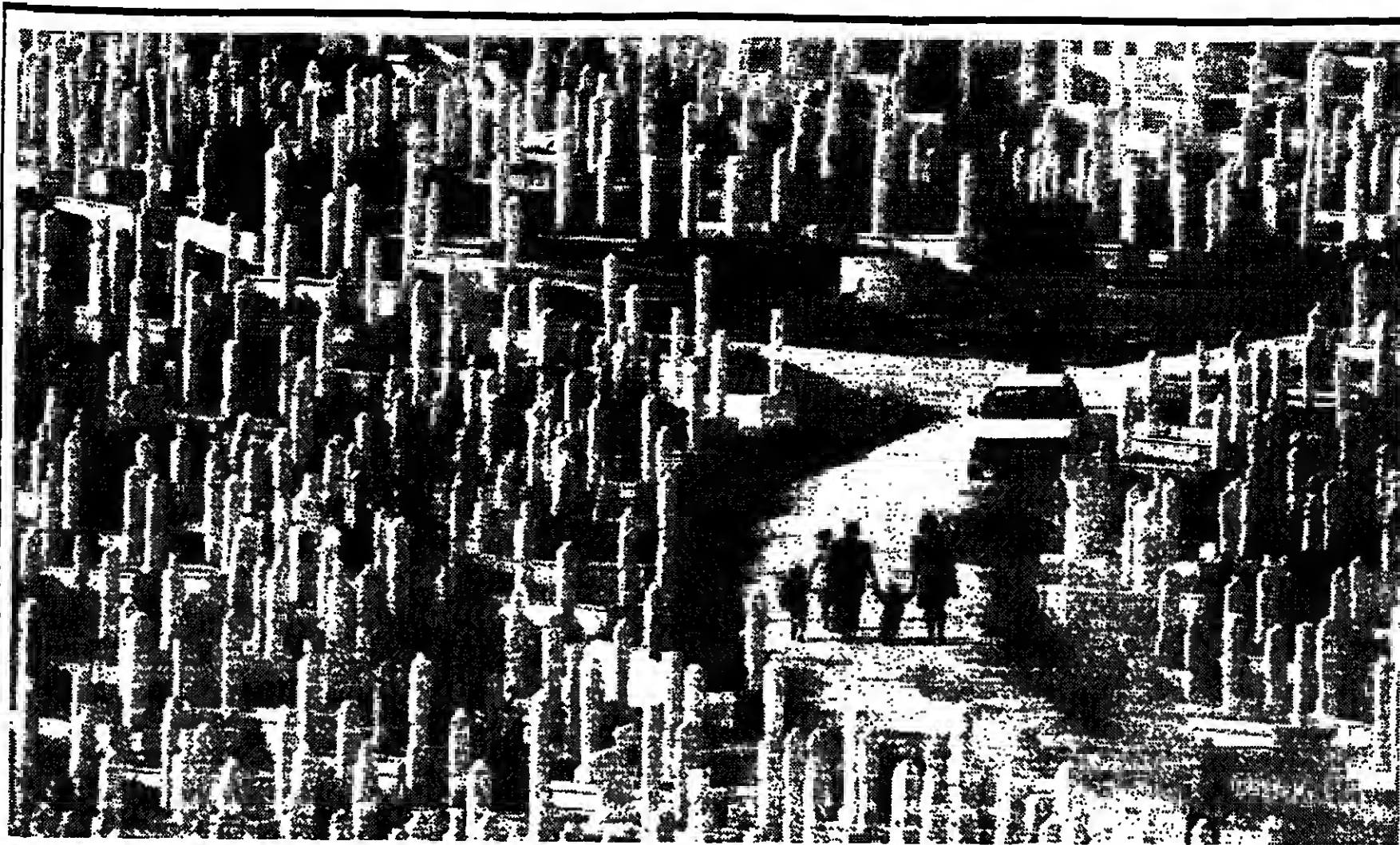
By Paul Blustein and Peter Behr
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — The American victory over the weekend in breaking open Japan's mobile-telephone market for Motorola Inc. shows that U.S. threats can be effective in trade disputes with Tokyo with relatively little risk to political relations between the countries.

President Bill Clinton said in his weekly radio address that the accord demonstrated "the United States and Japan can work together to open up jobs in America by opening up markets."

The United States has accused Japan of violating a 1989 trade agreement that called for Motorola to be given "comparable" access by the Japanese company Nippon Iddo Tsushin Corp. to the cellular market in the heavily populated Tokyo-to-Nagoya corridor. But Nippon Iddo, a Japanese cellular-telephone company, has not invested much in base stations for the Motorola technology. Instead, it expanded a cellular system using technology de-

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CEMETERY REOPENS — A family walking through Sarajevo's Bare cemetery Sunday after it reopened, guarded by UN troops, for the first time in almost two years. Page 6.

Israel Cracks Down on 2 Jewish Extremist Groups

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Israel on Sunday branded two Jewish extremist groups as "terrorists" and vowed to use military and police powers to arrest their members and shut down their operations in the aftermath of the Hebron massacre.

The groups, Kach and Kahane Lives, were founded by the late militant rabbi, Meir Kahane, and disciples who advocate the expulsion of Arabs from the Israeli-occupied West Bank and who have sanctioned the use of violence by Jews. Mr. Kahane was assassinated in New York in 1990.

Baruch Goldstein, the Jewish settler who gunned down 29 Muslims as they prayed in a Hebron mosque Feb. 25, was a follower of Mr. Kahane and had been elected on the Kach slate

to the council of his West Bank settlement, Kiryat Arba.

The Israeli cabinet, in a unanimous decision, approved the designation of Kach and Kahane Lives as terrorist groups under a 1948 law that was used against Jewish extremists in the early years of Israel's history, but since 1960 has been directed entirely at Palestinians. It has been used against the Palestine Liberation Organization, which signed a peace agreement with Israel last year, and Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement.

Under the law, members, supporters and financial backers of such an organization can be prosecuted and subjected to imprisonment. In addition, the government can confiscate the property of the group, seize bank accounts and order the closure of offices.

Attorney General Michael Ben-Yair said the

decision was based on his finding that "clear, conspicuous, and continuing patterns of violence, or threats of violence, have been identified within the activities of these organizations and that they are liable to cause death or injury to individuals." The Israeli radio reported that several members were being investigated in connection with unsolved murders of Arabs.

In the past, Israeli officials have said the two organizations had only several hundred followers in Israel, and only several dozen hard-core activists. Two weeks ago, the Israeli cabinet authorized the use of detention without trial for five Kach leaders, four of whom are in custody, and ordered restrictions on the movement and weapons of 18 other activists.

"We are appalled by the fascist decision of the government, which is typical for totalitarian regimes of long past," Elad Epstein, a Kach

spokesman, told the radio. He said Kaeb would appeal the decision.

But the leader of Kach, Baruch Marzel, who has gone into hiding, told Army Radio earlier that his group would change its name and continue to operate underground. The government authorized a warrant for Mr. Marzel's detention, but police and soldiers have been unable to locate him. He continues to call radio stations from a cellular phone.

The government decision was applauded by Palestinians. "I believe it was a necessary decision," said Faisal Hussein, a prominent West Bank leader. "The most important thing is not the decision, but the implementation."

The decision comes as Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin tries to persuade the PLO to return

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South African Homeland Fiasco Splits Anti-Vote Allies

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — It is a quirky little state previously known as a mecca for gambling, pop shows and topless reviews. Even in South Africa people struggle to pronounce its name. By the end of April it will cease to exist.

But Bophuthatswana last week proved an important turning point on the way to democracy. At the cost of an estimated 40 lives and untold wreckage, the showdown produced at least three critical gains for those engineering South Africa's first nonracial elections.

The first is a climactic split of the white resistance. With the faction favoring violence badly discredited by its blundering intervention in the homeland, rightist leaders who prefer political combat to the real thing have gained the upper hand.

The second is the demonstration by President Frederik W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, who despite their campaign rivalry are de-

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facto partners in running the country, of their resolve to come down hard on anyone who threatens the elections.

Mr. de Klerk, who has long insisted on the

Pretoria Takes Over

The South African government took control of Bophuthatswana on Sunday to ensure its participation in the national elections next month. (Page 6)

"sovereignty" of the black homelands created by apartheid, agreed to depose Bophuthatswana's leader, President Lucas Mangope, for obstructing free political activity.

For his part, Mr. Mandela, the African National Congress leader, has helped confer new legitimacy on the South African Army. By urging the army to be sent to take control in the riotous homeland, the likely next president has blessed this onetime agent of apartheid as an instrument of democracy.

The third result is the isolation of the last major holdout against the elections. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu homeland, KwaZulu, and of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the upheaval in Bophuthatswana stripped him of his last serious allies.

But there was an ominous lesson, too, in the battle of Bophuthatswana. It is that racial pas-

sions lie closer to the surface than many South Africans like to believe.

Residents of Bophuthatswana, who pride themselves on a record of racial harmony, said they were alarmed by how quickly the community polarized when white vigilantes arrived on the scene.

"We were very afraid that this was going to turn into a race war," said Thomas Ince, 37, a stock manager for an electrical company in Mambutho, the homeland capital.

Mr. Ince, who is of mixed race, said most of

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Heathrow Shelled Again, Causing Chaos

By John Darnton
New York Times Service

LONDON — The Irish Republican Army closed down London's two main airports for two hours Sunday night, delaying thousands of passengers and disrupting international air traffic through much of Europe and the world.

Heathrow, one of the world's busiest international airports, closed both of its runways at 7:35 P.M. after telephone threats were made that bombs had been set to go off in an hour. Earlier Sunday, the airport was hit by another mortar attack — the third in five days — in which shells landed near and on a terminal but did not explode.

Garwick, the city's second airport, was also closed because of the bomb threats. Two

threats were made to Sky News at about 7:10 and 7:35 P.M., giving known IRA code words as proof that they were genuine.

The first caller said: "There will be bombs in one hour's time at Heathrow and Gatwick airports. Clear all runways and terminals of people." The second said: "Clear all runways."

The British security services, stung by criticism that they had failed to take sufficient precautions during the earlier attacks, put a full-alert contingency plan into operation.

The day's events were a publicity bonanza for the IRA, dramatic proof of the organization's ability to strike repeatedly at a strategic target in the heart of Britain and to finally bring it to a complete stop.

On Sunday evening, the government added

an unspecified number of military personnel and military equipment to help police in the search for more hidden launchers. The equipment apparently includes metal detectors and thermal imaging equipment.

The Metropolitan Police commissioner, Paul Condon, emphasized that he was not at this point asking the military to step in with massive, visible patrols to reassure travelers and the British public.

Trying to minimize his department's embarrassment and a publicity coup for the Irish Republican Army, he said at a news conference:

"We're not facing andacious terrorists who

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A Damning U.S. Report on Waldheim

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — As a young officer in the German Army in World War II, Kurt Waldheim, the former secretary-general of the United Nations and president of Austria, expedited and probably ordered a long series of atrocities and war crimes, according to the Justice Department's long-withheld report on his war record.

The report says, for example, that his unit was responsible for the deaths of 1,200 Greek Jews loaded on barges that the Germans scuttled in the Mediterranean.

The 1987 report was the basis for the decision by Edwin Meese 3d, then the U.S. attorney general, to bar Mr. Waldheim from the United States. It was released late last week.

The report says Mr. Waldheim was a key member of German units responsible for killing civilians, executing prisoners, shipping prisoners to slave labor camps and identifying Jews for deportation.

Nothing in the file demonstrates that Mr. Waldheim personally killed, tortured or deported anyone. Instead, the evidence indicates that he provided the intelligence information and logistical support that enabled others to do so, may have ordered some prisoners shot and carried out his assignments so efficiently that he garnered praise, trust and promotions from his Nazi superiors.

The portrait of Mr. Waldheim that emerges from the report is that of a canny and amoral functionary who went out of his way to sacrifice innocent victims on the altar of his ambition.

Mr. Waldheim was UN secretary-general from 1972 to 1982 and president of Austria from 1986 to 1992. He always has denied that he took part in or even knew about war crimes or atrocities during the time he served in Ger-

man-occupied Yugoslavia and Greece. Until the mid-1980s, when reports of his wartime activities surfaced, he claimed that he had spent most of that time in Vienna.

Recalling that Mr. Waldheim long hid the fact that he had served in the Balkans after being wounded in the Soviet Union early in the war, the Justice Department report asserts that after his injury "Mr. Waldheim occupied positions of increasing responsibility and sensitivity, for which he was decorated, in regions where notoriously brutal actions were undertaken by the Nazi forces in which he served."

The report adds that Mr. Waldheim "did not disclose his service in the Balkans because he knew precisely what occurred in that campaign and the revelations could prove to be most damaging."

Mr. Waldheim's war record has been known in general terms for years. The Justice Department dossier supplies details and sources. For each incident described, Mr. Waldheim's place in the chain of command is reconstructed from the accounts of witnesses and from German and Croatian military records.

The 204-page report also examines Mr.

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Kiosk Oil Tankers Collide In Istanbul Waterway

ISTANBUL (Reuters) — Two oil tankers collided inside Istanbul's Bosphorus Strait on Sunday, setting off at least five explosions and a huge fire, officials and witnesses said.

Witnesses said flames were shooting up from the site of the accident, near the Black Sea entrance to the waterway. There was no word on casualties or on the identity of the tankers.

The Top Tables Add Spain to the Patricia Wells search for the world's best restaurants. Page 8.

Looking for Work In Europe

With job prospects dim for young Europeans, a generation is growing up without respect for the rules of society. (Page 9)

Kohl's Party Suffers Sharp Setback in State Election

Social Democrats Gain In Lower Saxony as Key Political Year Begins

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

BONN — Voters in Lower Saxony, Germany's second-largest state, handed Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Party a sharp setback Sunday in the first of 18 electoral contests around the country this year that will culminate with a national election Oct. 16.

The chancellor, who said a few days ago that he thought the national mood was swinging back toward his party after months of trailing in public opinion polls, had campaigned heavily across the northern state.

But after about three-quarters of the 5.9 million eligible voters braved a dreary rain and windstorm to go to the polls, Mr. Kohl's party ended up with only about 37 percent of the vote for the state legislature, down from 42 percent in 1990 and their worst showing in that industrial area in 35 years.

The Christian Democrats lost power in the state in 1990 after 12 years in office to a coalition between Premier Gerhard Schröder's Social Democrats and the Green Party. The Greens, an environmentalist and human rights group that pressed unsuccessfully for an end to nuclear power projects and defense industries in the state, won close to 7 percent of Sunday's vote, gaining several more seats than they had before.

Computer projections gave Mr. Schröder more than 44 percent of the vote, enough for the Social Democrats to try to govern the state by themselves with a majority of one or two seats.

The Free Democrats, who form a coalition with Mr. Kohl's party in Bonn, also lost votes in Lower Saxony — from 6 percent four years ago, they fell this time below the 5 percent needed to qualify for any seats in the state legislature. Their party has been groping for a new image after the resignation of their longtime chairman, former Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in 1991.

All in all, even though it was only a state election, and only the first of many this year at that, it was a bad day for Mr. Kohl and his coalition, who now have to fight uphill against the resurgent Social Democrats all the way to October. The coalition has held power in Bonn since 1982.

About the only result that all the other parties could agree on as good news was that the extreme rightist Republican Party had also failed to win enough votes to get into the Lower Saxony parliament in Hannover. Computer projections gave them only between 3.8 and 3.9 percent of the vote.

Mr. Schröder, a 49-year-old lawyer, lost out last summer in a bid to become the Social Democratic Party's candidate to try to oust Mr. Kohl in the October national elections. That shot went to Rudolf Scharping, the premier of the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, who also campaigned heavily in Lower Saxony.

"I wanted Rudolf Scharping to be chancellor this fall, and he can count on my support," Mr.

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AT THE ALTAR — The Reverend Susan Shipp celebrating Communion in Bristol on Sunday as women conducted their first services in the Church of England. Page 2.

This Particle Sleuth Just Might Turn Up a Nobel Prize

By Barry James

International Herald Tribune

GENEVA — Using the world's most massive scientific instrument, Daniel Froidevaux plans to stalk the top quark, sparticles (the universe may be largely made of them), the Higgs boson and other members of the strange bestiary of particles that abounded when the universe was a blink old.

Mr. Froidevaux, 39, is a key member of the team building the massive Atlas particle detector at the European Laboratory for Particle Physics in Geneva. When

have been detected, but a hypothetical top quark still is needed to fill another gap in the Standard Model.

By using enough electricity to power a small city, scientists will accelerate protons almost to the speed of light and smash them together in the hope of creating in a microcosm the enormous energy "Sometimes you give 10 years of your life to a project, and nothing new is found," he says. "You do some nice physics, but you don't find that little spark that really motivates people."

The Higgs boson — a boson is a particle that conveys a force — is a key missing link in the Standard Model, by which physicists attempt to describe all subatomic particles and the interactions among them. "It is necessary for the mathematical consistency of the Standard Model and, in that sense, it is a pretty firm prediction," says the man who first postulated its existence, Peter Higgs, a British theoretician.

The Higgs boson is thought to account for a hypothetical field or force that gives particles their mass: a kind of cosmic glue that holds everything together. "If the Higgs boson is found in the year 2005, one can surely imagine that people in 2050 will look back and see it as one of the milestones in the advance of knowledge," Mr. Froidevaux says.

The decision by the United States last year to abandon its \$11 billion Superconducting Super Collider in Texas makes it highly likely that the Higgs boson, if it exists, will be detected first at CERN's campus-like site on the Swiss-French frontier.

To probe closer to the beginnings of space and time, the European laboratory is planning to build a proton smasher known as the Large Hadron Collider, of which the Atlas detector will be one of the key elements.

Protons are heavy particles, packed with components known as quarks, that exist with neutrons at the heart of every atom. Five varieties or "flavors" of quark



Daniel Froidevaux knows his search will be long — and maybe fruitless.

perhaps a Nobel Prize. Detecting the Higgs boson, for example, "would be one of the most important breakthroughs in the history of physics," according to the magazine *Scientific American*.

But experimental science is a step into the unknown, and Mr. Froidevaux is aware that the search may prove fruitless.

that existed a few billionths of a second after the Big Bang.

Mr. Froidevaux compared the act of smashing protons to hurling watches together and studying the debris to figure out how they work. The 6,000-ton, six-story-high Atlas detector will observe the glowing echoes of the collisions as some 40 million protons fly apart each second, scattering quarks and other elements.

These may include mysterious supersymmetric particles, or sparticles, that some scientists believe may make up the hidden "dark matter" that forms more than 90 percent of the universe.

Each year, Mr. Froidevaux said, there will be perhaps one million billion collisions, of which only a few hundred will be potentially interesting enough to require further study. As though they were sifting specks of gold from a sandy beach, computers will select the most significant collisions, or "events," as they occur and store the data for analysis.

With more than 1,000 people working on the detector, Mr. Froidevaux views the project as a "dinosaur" that keeps him late at his desk and involves him in endless meetings.

He escapes by reading science fiction novels, which he brings back by the box from the United States whenever he visits his brother near Los Angeles. He also enjoys going to the theater, skiing and listening to music (he studied the violin for 11 years, but plays it no longer).

In addition, he usually finds time to read the French sports newspaper *L'Equipe*, which his companion, Sylvie, also a physicist, "thinks is a nice of some sort." Mr. Froidevaux is interested particularly in skiing but follows most sports, possibly because of his education in the United States and England in addition to France. The son of a Greek mother and Swiss father, he went to school in Oxford and in Berkeley, California, where his father was a research student,

before the family settled near Paris in 1964.

A relaxed and informal man who resembles a graduate student more than a senior scientist, Mr. Froidevaux came to his field through the prestigious Ecole Polytechnique in Paris and advanced studies in nuclear and particle physics.

Despite the deep philosophical questions raised by his work, he has little patience for the excessively abstract. He decided early in his career to become an experimental scientist, a tinkerer on a monumental scale.

Physics thrives on competition between theory and experimental observation. Experimenters like Mr. Froidevaux are always hoping to "find something that the theorists have not foreseen."

"It would be nice to catch them off guard and give them some work to do," he said, turning from a display of equations on a computer display, which he was discussing with a colleague from Moscow in Russian, one of the seven languages he speaks.

The proton collider will use many existing facilities, including a 27-kilometer tunnel under the Jura mountains, the site of another collider. This will enable the Europeans to keep the cost of the new instrument to an estimated 2.3 billion Swiss francs (\$1.7 billion), according to CERN. In a time of economic recession, some ask if it is reasonable to spend such a sum on the quest for purely abstract knowledge.

Mr. Froidevaux thinks the money is well spent, believing that men can improve the world by improving their understanding of it.

"There is a deep belief among most physicists that 'useless' research is in fact very useful, maybe in the very long term," he says. "Maybe there will never be any practical applications for some of what we do here, but it is also true that a lot of practical everyday things we have in life nowadays came originally from pure research."

WORLD BRIEFS

Problems Beset U.S. Aid to Russia

WASHINGTON (AP) — U.S. aid to Russia and other former Soviet states is not reaching those who need it and major problems plague the management of \$3 billion in U.S. assistance programs, a congressional report says.

The report, prepared by staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, contends that too many decisions on aid programs are being made in Washington with too little attention paid to conditions in the countries themselves.

"There are major problems in the management of the assistance program," the report says. "It does not appear that the average citizen of Moscow, Alma-Ata or Bishkek — let alone the vast majority of citizens who live thousands of miles away from these urban areas — is aware of or affected by international assistance or the reforms that it is supposed to foster."

Pinochet Objects to Freeing Leftists

SANTIAGO (Reuters) — General Augusto Pinochet, Chile's former military ruler, said the army was "pained" by a decision to free three leftists imprisoned for a 1986 assassination attempt against him.

Patricio Aylwin, who on Friday handed over the presidency to Eduardo Frei, a fellow Christian Democrat, decided to release the three leftist guerrillas on condition that they go into exile in Belgium. They are scheduled to be freed this week.

After a meeting with new defense minister, Edmundo Pérez Yoma, General Pinochet said, "The army is hurt, the family is pained, but we are soldiers and if the president is responsible and takes a decision, we will remain in silence and heed orders."

Pakistan Criticizes U.S. Somalia Gear

MOGADISHU, Somalia (AP) — Pakistan accused the United States on Sunday of providing the United Nations with old, inferior equipment and said it might pull out of Somalia if it does not get more and better gear.

Foreign Minister Asif Ali Zardari also said the withdrawal of U.S. and other Western troops, leaving a mostly Asian and African UN force, "smacks of racism."

Mr. Ali complained that eight U.S. helicopter gunships being leased to the United Nations for use by Pakistani troops are outdated and that the package does not contain any surveillance aircraft, which the United States has used for its own troops. "Are Pakistani personnel's lives cheaper than those that came from the West?" he asked at a news conference.

The minister said his government would consider security questions before deciding whether to keep its 5,054 soldiers in Somalia when its current UN commitment ends on May 31.

U.S. Takes a Harder Line on Burma

WASHINGTON (NYT) — The Clinton administration has decided to step up pressure on the Burmese military government to open talks with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the detained democracy campaigner, and to ease its repression of the opposition, according to U.S. officials.

They said that the administration, after an eight-month policy review, ruled out sending an ambassador to Rangoon at this time, and that it was considering pushing for an international arms embargo against Burma. The administration also plans to intensify efforts to persuade the United Nations secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali, to name a special envoy who would press the military to start a dialogue with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and end her nearly five-year house arrest, they said.

Tapie Reportedly Quizzed on Killing

MARSEILLE (Reuters) — Bernard Tapie, the politician and Marseille soccer team owner, has been questioned by the police about the murder of a member of the French Parliament who campaigned against corruption, investigators said Sunday.

Mr. Tapie answered questions about the Feb. 25 shooting of Yann Piat that were put to him by senior national police officers in Paris on Saturday, the sources said. They said he had been questioned because he had been named by Mrs. Piat, together with Maurice Arreckx, president of the departmental council of the Var region of southern France, in a letter to an aide in which she said that she feared assassination.

Mr. Arreckx, a member of Mrs. Piat's Union for French Democracy party, is the region's veteran political boss and was reported to have regarded Mrs. Piat as a troublesome outsider. He told reporters after being questioned last week that he had no connection with the case.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Chunnel Tourist Car Trains? Try July

CANNES (AFP) — Trains shuttling tourists' automobiles through the Channel Tunnel between France and England apparently will not be in service until July at the earliest.

André Benard, chairman of the tunnel's operating company, Eurotunnel, said that the tourist car service would begin after or about the same time as the passenger train service linking London and Paris.

According to previous Eurotunnel predictions, the passenger trains will not operate before July. Freight service is expected to start several weeks after the official inauguration of the tunnel on May 6. (AFP)

The national carriers of Poland and Britain resumed flights between the two countries Sunday, ending a 19-week break in air links between Warsaw and London. The conflict was settled when LOT Polish Airlines and British Airways agreed that each would operate nine such flights a week until the end of the winter season, March 26. During the summer, LOT and BA will each fly 12 to 15 times a week. (AP)

Suspected Muslim extremists fired machine guns at a cruiser carrying German tourists on the Nile River in southern Egypt on Sunday. No damage or injuries were reported. It was the second attack on a cruiser on the Nile, in Assuit Province, in less than 10 days. (AP)

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Cyprus, Gibraltar, Greece, Singapore.

TUESDAY: Hungary, Indonesia, Liberia.

THURSDAY: Ireland.

SATURDAY: Costa Rica, Liechtenstein, Malta, Vatican City, Venezuela.

Sources: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

Q&A: UN Human Rights Chief 'Won't Be Neutral'

José Ayala Lasso, a 62-year-old diplomat from Ecuador, is the first United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. As he took up his post, he spoke in Geneva with Robert L. Kroom for the *International Herald Tribune*.

Q. Your colleague, the High Commissioner for Refugees, has a staff of thousands and a \$1 billion-a-year budget. You have been given an annual budget of \$700,000. Doesn't that make you a pretty toothless watchdog?

A. I am going back to the General Assembly in April to get adequate funding and I am sure the appropriations will be forthcoming from the UN budget. Voluntary contributions are welcome as well. This important work requires the necessary means.

Q. Several governments with shaky human rights records will consider your probing as meddling in their internal affairs. How do you intend to solve that problem?

A. Interfering in internal affairs is beyond my mandate. In that sense the General As-

sembly resolution establishing my post was a compromise, of course.

My mandate is vague but it is also very wide. National and regional particularities had to be taken into account, or this post would have never been created. But in the end there was unanimous endorsement, which means I can knock on any government's door and that's precisely what I intend to do.

Q. But you will be forced to take a low-key approach?

A. Not necessarily. This post has a high profile and prestige. I won't be neutral, I am empowered to work on the highest political level and that is important. I know expectations are very high and I have already made plans for rapid and significant achievements. I will rely on moral and political persuasion, preventive diplomacy, if you wish, to get results.

Q. Are you targeting specific countries?

A. Backed by the consensus vote in the assembly, 184 countries must open their

doors to me. That may be China, or Iraq, the U.S. or Switzerland.

If the human rights commission passes a resolution, sending monitors to certain countries, I will try to persuade governments of their duty to cooperate. In that sense I am the new executive of the commission.

But it may be better to work at an earlier stage, and try to convince governments that human rights are universal and have nothing to do with security preoccupations. Pointing fingers may not always be effective.

Q. Do you think that such a cautious approach will make the likes of Saddam Hussein tremble in their boots?

A. Probably not. I don't know if he wears boots in the first place.

But things are evolving. The momentum for human rights is everywhere. It is becoming really universal. Without that we would not have had the human rights summit in Vienna last year and my post would not have been created. Let's see how persuasion and preventive diplomacy works.

Q. Your human rights rapporteur in Sudan didn't get very far. In fact he was threatened by the government in Khartoum and could be in physical danger.

A. That, of course, is a totally unacceptable situation. Governments may have problems in dealing with critical probes but menacing rapporteurs who carry out instructions from the human rights commission is totally unacceptable.

Q. So what do you intend to do with governments that refuse to cooperate with you?

A. If nothing else works, we will go public. We will shame them into compliance.

Q. Are you in favor of international tribunals to deal with gross human rights offenders, like in the case of Yugoslavia?

A. Essentially, yes. But what's the use of tribunals if you don't have a defendant in custody? At this moment the United Nations has no weapons to enforce human rights compliance. The international community has not yet come up with an answer to that problem.

U.S. Winter Runs Up A Huge Bill

By Ashley Dunn

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — It was not a hurricane or an earthquake, but the winter of 1993-94, which is now entering its final calendar week, has become a disaster of its own sort, leaving a trail of damage, hardship and bitter memories whose effects will be felt for years in the eastern half of the United States.

The winter has eluded and flowed, striking with fury one day, only to give way to days of sunshine. The series of 16 snow and ice storms that have battered the East and Southeast is an unconventional disaster, but one that still ranks among the worst to have hit the country in recent years.

Insurers estimate that they will eventually pay over \$1 billion for damage caused by the storms, compared with \$900 million for the wildfires in California in October and \$775 million for the Los Angeles riots in 1992.

The pattern of this winter's storms also has been unconventional.

While the National Weather Service has recorded at least 18 all-time low temperatures, including minus 21 degrees Fahrenheit (minus 29 centigrade) in Detroit on Jan. 19 and minus 50 degrees Fahrenheit (minus 46 centigrade) in Ames, Michigan, on Jan. 18, over all this winter not make the record books when the season officially ends at 3:28 P.M. on March 20.

"Astrologically, it's the end of winter, but meteorologically, not really," said Joe Venuti, a meteorologist at Pennsylvania State University. "Especially with this winter, it's not safe to say we've seen the end of snow."

Snowfall records were set in several places, such as Boston, which so far has a season total of 89.5 inches (229 centimeters).

Sex Scandal Fells Top U.K. Officer

Reuters

LONDON — Britain's most senior military officer resigned on Sunday in the latest of a series of sex scandals that have embarrassed the Conservative government.

Sir Peter Harding, chief of the Defense Staff, resigned after a newspaper published allegations that he had had an affair with the ex-wife of a former defense minister.

The News of the World published details of the alleged affair between Sir Peter, 61, who is married and a father of four, and Lady Bienvenida Buck, 32, former wife of Sir Anthony Buck.

"Marshall of the Royal Air Force Sir Peter Harding, chief of the Defense Staff, has tendered his resignation with immediate effect," the Defense

Ministry said in a statement. "This has been accepted."

The military has enshrined the virtues of marriage and family life in a new code of conduct for the armed forces.

Sir Peter's resignation was a fresh blow for the government, which has been plagued by scandals including reports that one junior minister fathered a child out of wedlock and the wife of another minister killed herself because of his friendship with a society mistress.

Last month, a Conservative member of Parliament was found dead in his home clad in women's underwear, the victim of a sex experiment gone wrong.

In Church of England, Women Realize a Dream

Reuters

BRISTOL, England — The Church of England's new female priests realized their ambition of full authority at the altar on Sunday as they led services at local churches.

The first female priests in the Anglican founding church sealed their new status in Christian wor-

ship the day after their ordination in this western cathedral city.

One of them, Susan Shipp, wept openly as she celebrated Holy Communion, the key Christian sacrament hitherto offered up only by the church's male clergy.

A few miles away, another newly ordained reverend, Sister Rosemary Dawn Watling, preached

from the pulpit and, with her vicar looking on, broke bread and blessed the Communion wine in a strong, firm voice.

Ordination Rites

John Darton of the *New York Times* reported earlier from London: Thirty-two women knelt Saturday in Bristol Cathedral for the laying on of hands by the bishop to become the first women ordained as priests in the Church of England's 460 years.

The ordination of women, which seemed inevitable since it was found theologically unobjectionable by the General Synod of the Anglican Church in 1975, has prompted a bitter debate for 20 years.

The two decades are sometimes said to be the most divisive period in the church since Henry VIII established it and severed the nation's ties to the Church of Rome over Pope Clement VII's refusal to annul his marriage to Katherine of Aragon so that he could wed Anne Boleyn. And there are signs that the split has not ended.

Some 700 clergy members, some of them retired, have indicated an intention to convert to Roman Catholicism. So far, only 35 priests have resigned, although an additional 115 have indicated they will

do so by January. There are 10,200 priests in the church altogether.

The 32 female deacons gathered in the historic cathedral in Bristol on Saturday and arranged themselves in a rectangle around the bishop, the Right Reverend Barry Rowson. They answered the questions to test their faith and then the congregation followed the bishop in silent prayer for them.

The archbishops of Canterbury and York, George Carey and John Habgood, both of whom favor ordaining women, said the service was "a new beginning," that marks the culmination of almost 20 years of formal debate and many more years of prayer and reflection.

The decision to allow ordination of women was not "undertaken lightly or hastily," they said in a joint statement, and although most believed the ordinations to be God's will, "others, of course, believe the move to be mistaken."

They urged church members to show "generosity, tolerance, courtesy, and loving patience."

The Vatican reacted sharply to the ordinations, reasserting its opposition to priesthood for women.

The Vatican spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls, said Pope John Paul II "had clearly and publicly affirmed that the ordination of women also constitutes a profound obstacle to every hope of reunion between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion."

"This reunion is and remains a great hope, which this new obstacle makes more difficult," Mr. Navarro said, referring to talks between the Vatican and the Church of England on possible reunion that began shortly after the Second Vatican Council.

But these considerations did not seem to mar the occasion for the 32

women who became priests, many of whom struggled for a decade or more to gain the right to participate in certain rites of the church, and, beginning on Sunday, will be allowed to celebrate the Eucharist.

Jane Hayward, looking ahead to Sunday services, said she was excited but nervous.

"I'm too concerned with getting the service right," she said. "As we are the first, people will watch closely and those who are a bit against us will say, 'Ah, she's got it wrong, she can't do it!'"

Christine Rees, a member of the General Synod's laity who speaks for the Movement for the Ordination of Women, pronounced it "a great day" as she was caught in a crowd outside Bristol Cathedral. "I'm actually beginning to believe this is actually happening," she added with a laugh.

The Church of England has attempted to accommodate hard-line traditionalists by establishing provisions for a diocese or a parish where female priests would not be allowed to minister. In the case of a diocese, it may be done by declaration of the bishop and in the case of a parish by a vote of the parochial church council. No such areas have been set up yet.

The church has also provided compensation for priests who choose to resign, a deal that includes a three-year package averaging about \$45,000 in place of salary, a \$5,400 resettlement grant, and various housing entitlements.

The ordination of women has become common throughout the Anglican Church in other countries. There are about 1,380 female priests in churches within the Anglican Communion around the world.

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THE AMERICAS / WHITEOUT

Key Figure Defends Clintons on Bank Funds

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton's friends and aides mounted a vigorous defense Sunday of the handling of his personal finances during the 1980s but have acknowledged that there were "errors," possibly including sloppy bookkeeping and faulty tax returns.

James B. McDougal, a longtime friend of the Clintons who ran a small savings and loan in Arkansas, said in a broadcast interview that no money was transferred from the savings bank to Mr. Clinton's campaign treasury while he was governor of Arkansas.

This is one of several pivotal questions in a special prosecutor's investigation of the savings bank and possible links to the Clintons. Federal regulators have said the Clintons, though not criminal targets, may have benefited from questionable transfers of funds by Mr. McDougal's failed bank.

Any suggestion that illegal transfers to the Clinton campaign took place is "a lie — a Republican lie," Mr. McDougal declared.

The president, Mr. McDougal said, is guilty of no crime. If Hillary Rodham Clinton did anything wrong, he added, it was probably limited to "sloppy bookkeeping."

According to one report on Sunday, the president's private attorney, David Kendall, had found no violation of criminal law in combing through the Clintons' personal documents but has located "tax errors" and "improper deductions" related to their land investments in the 1980s.

In 1992, the Clintons paid a small sum in back taxes for improper deductions. According to the magazine, Mr. Kendall believes that any similar problem now can be solved with a similar payment of back taxes and any accompanying penalty. Such penalties are not criminal matters.

Mrs. Clinton also took the offensive over the weekend in two magazine interviews. She conceded "mistakes" and "mistakes" in the way the Clintons handled public questions about their investments. But she said questions about the Clintons' land investments in the Whitewater Development Corp. had been blown out of proportion.

Mrs. Clinton seemed to raise the possibility that she and her husband took improper deductions on past income tax forms. Asked by Time magazine if that was the case, Mrs. Clinton responded: "Well, we don't know. We don't believe so."

There were "activities that we didn't know anything about that have only recently been brought to our attention," she said. "And as we gather more information, we will act appropriately."

The Clintons say they lost nearly \$60,000 by investing in Whitewater Development. The deduction question may arise from interest payments the Clintons made on loans they took to invest in the company.

Mr. McDougal is a key figure in the Whitewater matter because he was also an investor in the development company with the Clintons.

He said Sunday that he planned to bring a defamation suit against a Republican congressman, Jim Leach of Iowa, for asserting that a subsidiary of Madison Guaranty made illegal transfers of cash to Whitewater Development. Mr. Leach brushed off the threat, calling Madison "one of the most disastrously run savings and loans in the country."

Two female FBI agents have filed a civil rights lawsuit against the U.S. Department of Justice, alleging that they were fondled and sexually abused by a supervisor who heads the bureau's white collar crime unit in Orange County, California.

The suit is believed to be the first sexual harassment case filed by women still working as agents.

An 85-year-old man who led the police on a high-speed chase that ended in his death after his car overturned was carrying his life savings of more than \$100,000 in the vehicle, the authorities said. The man was seen speeding through San Jose, Illinois, and when police tried to stop him he fled at speeds of up to 100 miles per hour, they said.

A man who said he was forced to submit to an AIDS test after being dragged out of his car by sheriff's deputies is suing Frederick County, Maryland, officials for \$1.5 million. County officials had issued a warrant to test the plaintiff, 30, after his companion tested positive for the AIDS virus.

Organizers of Boston's St. Patrick's Day parade said they would cancel the annual event to protest a court order allowing homosexuals and lesbians to march.

In Heartland, Whitewater Barely Causes a Ripple

By Richard L. Berke
New York Times Service

LAKEWOOD, Ohio — "Whitewater?" asked Zandra Wolfram. "Whitewater what? Rafting?" Official Washington may be consumed by the Whitewater affair, but beyond the capital's Beltway — from Seattle to Chicago to Atlanta to Lakewood — most people have other things on their minds, from the weather to the fortunes of Tonya Harding and Nancy Kerrigan.

Judging by more than 200 on-the-street interviews with Democrats, Republicans and independents around the country, Whitewater is not a big topic of conversation.

Like Ms. Wolfram, a theater publicist in this town on the western edge of Cleveland, most people here said Whitewater had not markedly affected their views of President Bill Clinton, good or bad.

Many Republicans said they thought their party leaders were going too far to exploit the dispute for partisan advantage. But there are signs that Whitewater could still prove politically perilous for Mr. Clinton.

People in both parties said they were withholding judgment to see the ultimate resolution of the Clintons' participation in an Arkansas real-estate venture. Federal investigators are examining the Clintons' investment in the Whitewater Development Co. and its relationship to a failed savings and loan association.

"We've only seen and heard a lot of conjecture, no smoking gun," said Odie Wright, a security officer in Chicago who is an independent. "And until there is, I'm remaining neutral."

Results from the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll show that for now, at least, the opinions voiced by those interviewed clearly reflected the thinking around the country.

In the survey, 30 percent of respondents had heard "a lot" about Whitewater, up from 17 percent two months ago. But even more said they knew little or nothing about it. Six in 10 Americans said they did not know enough to say whether Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, did anything wrong; the rest were divided.

Only one in five thought Whitewater was an issue of great importance to the nation.

The poll of 867 adults nationwide, conducted by telephone from March 8 through March 10, found that Mr. Clinton's 50 percent approval rating appears unaffected by Whitewater. But the public was divided over whether Mr. Clinton participated in a cover-up of the Whitewater affair, and 8 in 10 said Republicans were using the issue for political gain.

Trust Rating Falls in Poll

A Time magazine-CNN poll released Saturday found that 35 percent of Americans said they trust Mr. Clinton, down from 40 percent in January. The Associated Press reported. Of the 800 people polled, 51 percent thought the Clintons were hiding things compared to 33 percent who did not.

Newspapers, in a poll of 600 adults, found that 52 percent believe the Clinton administration is knowingly covering up damaging information about Whitewater, and 64 percent think the Clintons are guilty of some offense.

Clinton's Team Appears Stuck in Campaign Mode

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A month after President Bill Clinton took office, the White House counsel at the time, Bernard W. Nussbaum, set out in a memo to the staff severe restrictions on contacts they could have with government regulators.

"Violations," the memo noted, may result in "significant embarrassment to the individual involved and the White House." Five months later, contacts between

White House officials and the FBI over the firing of the White House travel office staff were deemed "improper and insensitive to the appearance of White House influence."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Asked why this keeps happening, administration officials and political observers pointed to a Clinton White House culture still more attuned to the operating methods of a political campaign than to the rules of governing. The White House remains populated by few government veterans and many former

campaign workers most comfortable with the campaign war room style of rapid and aggressive response to political threats.

George Stephanopoulos, the Clinton campaign veteran who is now a senior adviser to the president, acknowledged last week that White House damage control efforts in response to inquiries about the Clintons' Whitewater land deal had caused more political and legal damage than they had controlled.

"A campaign is a campaign," said Lloyd N. Cutler, newly named White House counsel in an interview. "Those are private people who are out part of the government set in a particular, peculiar situation."

"But now, you are the government of the United States," he said. Referring to a Clinton strategist, he said, "In a campaign, James Carville could answer a question in a manner that was 75 percent correct and 25 percent incorrect and that would be fine. The next day in a campaign, you are on to something else. Now, you are the government, and the government got it wrong."

Another administration official put it more succinctly: "In a campaign, you can afford to be a cowboy. You're even expected to be a cowboy. In the White House, you have to keep your gun in the holster a lot of the time."

David R. Gergen, a White House counselor who, like Mr. Cutler, is a veteran of previous administrations, said the grand jury subpoenas of White House and Treasury aides, the elaborate search for documents and Mr. Cutler's appointment last week served as a "wake-up call" to a traumatized White House staff.

An administration official said, "The campaign cowboy analogy goes only part way. This remains a building that lacks discipline. There is a sloppiness. A lack of seriousness. A group-grope quality where everyone rushes to one problem and gropes around for a solution while other problems pop up everywhere else."

Critics of the Clinton team say that the Whitewater defense operation fits a pattern of actions, large and small, that suggest inattention to the responsibilities of those who serve in government.

They point to reports of White House aides failing to perform required paperwork to get their passes and security clearances; of State Department aides last year retrieving personal files of Bush administration officials and leaking information about them to the press; of White House procedures in the days following the suicide of the deputy White House counsel, Vincent Foster, that have led to questions about the integrity and thoroughness of the police investigation.

The White House chief of staff, Thomas F. (Mac) McLarty, attributed many of the difficulties to the daily rush of problems that engulf the White House. "We had procedures put in place to ensure that White House people maintain the highest ethical standards."

How long should the Clinton team be given to make the transition from the campaign to the government? Mr. Cutler answered: "It ought to be by the end of the first year." Now, with Mr. Clinton two months into his second year, Mr. Cutler said, "Certainly, certainly, we have room for improvement."



HAIR-RAZING — Jim Alter's pupils check him out as he and fifth graders in Oceanside, California, were having their heads shaved in sympathy with a classmate undergoing cancer therapy.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Breathing Life Into New Films

Computer animation, which has already resurrected dinosaurs for "Jurassic Park," can now transform raw data into images that look like, sound like and behave on screen like recognizable film stars from the past. Imagine "The Piano" with Bette Davis instead of Holly Hunter, or "The Untouchables" with James Cagney instead of Kevin Costner.

At present, reanimation technology — the kind needed to re-create real people convincingly — is prohibitively expensive and relatively primitive. But as it gets better and cheaper, the legality of detailed imaging is likely to be challenged by the dead actors' estates.

It has long been possible to get Fred Astaire to dance with Madonna, for example, by taking footage from an old Astaire movie and splicing it with new film. Soon, however, it will be possible simply to reanimate Astaire, using dimensional data from his old performances.

What the computer does is translate data into images — the data in this case being numbers that describe Astaire's physical dimensions, down to the smallest detail like the shape of his nose. Voices can also be synthesized.

As technology improves, the cost of re-animating dead actors is sure to decline, whereas the cost of paying live ones is sure not to. Or as Bruce Weber put it in The New York Times, "Who knows? Actors might not be needed at all one of these days."

Short Takes

It looked like one of those cases that are nearly impossible to solve: the apparently random shooting of a young hitchhiker. But the first Tulsa, Oklahoma, deputy sheriff on the scene noticed the letters and numbers inked on Donald Beartrack Jr.'s bloody arm. It turned out to be the license plate number of three men who were soon arrested and charged with killing him. Police said the 17-year-old apparently realized he was in danger and scrawled DER-352 on his arm just before he was shot twice in the head at close range. Investigators would not say what may have made him feel threatened, and would not offer a motive for the killing.

A bipartisan campaign for including Americans overseas in any health care legislation is being pushed by Democrats Abroad and Republicans Abroad. Americans overseas have never had access to Medicare, taxpayer-subsidized health care for the elderly and disabled, even though they have paid into the programs for decades. Neither the Clinton administration's health-care program nor any other of the new proposals before Congress makes any provision for U.S. citizens living abroad.

About People

Otto Graham, 72, who quarterbacked the Cleveland Browns to seven championships in the 10 years from 1946 to 1955, says of today's victorious gyrations by players who have just scored touchdowns, "Every time I see a player get in the end zone doing one of those crazy dances, my stomach hurts."

Arthur Higbee

Man Held in Sale of Gun To N.Y. Attack Suspect

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A suspect has been arrested in connection with the sale of a pistol that found its way into the possession of Rashad Baz, who is charged in a March 1 attack on a van carrying Hasidic students on the Brooklyn Bridge.

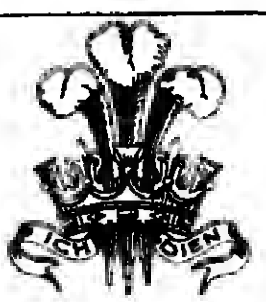
The authorities said the suspect, Albert Jeannin, was the first link in a gun trafficking chain that led to Mr. Baz.



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Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

The Europe to Come

To help poor countries grow richer, trade and investment can do a lot more than conventional foreign aid. That is particularly true for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, with their well-educated populations. That makes their relationship to the European Union crucial to them and to the structure of Europe as it will emerge over the next decade.

But the Union is under great strain. Its sense of political direction has been eroded by a long and damaging recession, while the prospect of enlargement is changing its character. It has completed negotiations with Sweden, Finland and Austria. Those three expect to join by the start of next year, and Norway may be a fourth. That shifts the balance in the Union between Europe's rich north and its poorer south. It also hints at greater influence for a constellation of countries around Germany, at the expense of those to the south and west. That has set off a sharp quarrel over voting rules within the Union, and how large a minority will be allowed to block a majority. These are all distractions from the commitments that the Union has already made to the countries to its east.

Nonetheless, the Union has signed agree-

ments with some of them promising free trade within 10 years. Beyond that, it has promised full membership as soon as they can meet the political and economic requirements. That is not simple. Disparities of wealth among the Union's members are already making trouble, for incomes in Germany and France are three times those in Portugal and Greece—which in turn are two or three times those in Hungary and Poland. And yet they may well be admitted by the turn of the century, as they hope.

The Union was founded on the idea of using economic incentives to attain political goals. It was constructed to make war impossible between France and Germany. It brought in Greece, Portugal and Spain not for commercial reasons but to ensure that they would remain democracies. The same logic now presses it to bring in the East Europeans. It will be expensive for the richer countries, but it can make all of Europe safer and more stable. Expanding the European Union is a slow and rather boring process, with all those endless negotiations and complicated agreements, but the subject is the architecture of the next century's Europe.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Deal for North Korea

International inspectors are now scouring North Korea's nuclear sites for signs of recent diversion of nuclear material to the making of arms. If they find none, Washington will soon resume talks with Pyongyang on gaining even greater access to determine how much material, if any, it may have diverted before inspections began and whether that was enough to make a bomb. To win such inspections, President Bill Clinton needs a package of inducements that addresses North Korea's diplomatic, security and economic concerns. He also needs to quiet the loose talk of war in Washington.

To that end, he might read a report by the U.S. Institute of Peace, drafted by former officials, some of whom shaped U.S. policy toward Korea in the past. It challenges the view that North Korea's nuclear program has created a military crisis that requires a flexing of U.S. muscle. Such posturing, the report suggests, adds nothing to U.S. negotiating leverage but instead raises doubts in Pyongyang about whether Washington is serious about a deal.

The report's assessment of the military balance indicates that the threat from the North is not growing. Its missiles, artillery and rockets have long been able to reach Seoul. The South is spending twice as much as the North does on defense, while the North's reduced access to oil has degraded its military effectiveness. North Korea's economic setbacks are so serious that

Kim Il Sung's dream of reunifying the peninsula has "given way to concern for survival."

The report raises questions about the North's bomb-making activity. The CIA's estimate that the North has accumulated enough plutonium for one or two bombs is a "worst-case extrapolation." There is "no hard evidence, only the presumption" that the North has turned whatever plutonium it has into a bomb. Rigorous inspections of nuclear sites could clear up these uncertainties.

The North needs to carry out its 1991 pledge to dismantle its reprocessing plant, and account for any plutonium that it may have produced. To coax it into these steps, Washington should offer incentives to be delivered after specific actions. It is essential, for example, that North continue its talks with Seoul. The United States can then hold out step-by-step diplomatic ties and U.S. backing for aid, investment and trade as inducements for regular inspections. The package would include a joint U.S.-South Korean effort to reduce forces in the demilitarized zone and take other steps to build mutual confidence if the North reciprocates.

Pyongyang's economy is in disarray. A firm commitment from Mr. Clinton could produce a broad diplomatic bargain that just might work, allowing Pyongyang to extract itself from a nuclear dead end of its own making.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Perry Talks Too Much

Are you a Serbian commander wondering whether the United States and NATO, having rescued Sarajevo, will respond if you shoot up one of the other United Nations-designated safe havens in Bosnia? Rest at ease, for the new U.S. secretary of defense, William J. Perry, has just simplified your way. In a Washington speech, he has separated the cities that NATO would extend its air power to save from those it would not. The essential difference lies in whether the besiegers use artillery. If they do, and if some other criteria are met, then NATO may respond. But if the threat is from "infantry and guerrilla action in urban areas," as it is in various pathetic places, then those areas will be considered outside the reach of NATO air power, and the besiegers may safely fire away.

It is true that air power works in some situations but may only increase civilian casualties, to no good compensating military effect, in others. There is political lunacy, however, in publicly spelling it all out at this moment. NATO has an encouraging bit of momentum up in Bosnia as a result of finally getting serious about Sarajevo and shooting down some provocative Bosnian Serb aircraft. You don't have to be a field marshal to understand how useful

it would be to keep would-be attackers guessing. A little discreet silence, a touch of ambiguity—that's what is required. Instead, Mr. Perry, earnestly plodding through a disquisition on the uses of military force, offers some of the gunmen of Bosnia a free pass.

The defense chief, taking a cue from the commander in chief, warns against making empty threats of military force—threats that the United States cannot enforce. This was certainly a prudent caution to utter at an earlier time when NATO's credibility was on the line. With NATO having now at least begun to earn its spurs in Bosnia, however, a caution against empty threats is transformed into a one-sided, self-restricting denial of military opportunity.

Some Americans and others might raise a question or even an alarm if the administration seemed to be slipping into broader uses of force. But current circumstances put it in a position to have it both ways: to have sensible guidelines on the use of force but at the same time to strengthen its message that the disrupters of peace efforts in Bosnia should beware. Mr. Perry, precise and explicit where he should have let doubts linger, tells them not to worry.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Don't Appear Rangoon

Following an eight-month policy review, the Clinton administration has reportedly decided to increase pressure on Burma, and to ask other nations of the world to send sending arms to its brutal military regime. That would be a just and honorable response to the regime's obstinate refusal to hold talks with its democratic opponents.

Last week the Burmese general known as Secretary One, or S-1 for short, gave his first interview to a Western correspondent in two years. Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt told Philip Shenon of The New York Times that he would not meet with, or grant any political standing to, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the democracy leader and Nobel Peace Prize laureate who has been under house arrest in the capital for several years. That flat statement seemed to dash the hopes of some Westerners who thought that the Burmese State Law and Order Restoration Council might be easing its stance. For the first time since her arrest, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was allowed to see a nonfamily foreign visitor, Representative Bill Richardson of the House Intelligence Committee.

Then, too, the regime has been seeking better trade and diplomatic relations with Japan and the West, and its generals have been judged by Tokyo to have widespread outrage over the detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

She returned to her country in 1988 to aid her ailing mother and remained, at the request of Burmese fed up with decades of brutal, incompetent and corrupt military tyranny. In 1990 her National League for Democracy overthrew the regime's party in national elections, which the regime immediately annulled.

But General Khin Nyunt, head of Burmese military intelligence, seemed determined to keep her under arrest. "There are 42 million people here," he told Mr. Shenon, "and they are not bothered by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi."

Oh? Then why not free her and hold another election? The answer is self-evident. The regime has no confidence in that 42 million Burmese think about it. Until Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is liberated and able to speak for herself, there is no reason for anyone to reward the generals with better trade and diplomatic relations.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Party Wants to Rein In the Stampede

By Philip Bowring

HONG KONG — China's march toward a market economy has come to a halt. While the troops are mulling around playing cards or bartering their ammunition, the officers are worrying about how to get order back in the ranks, over mind the direction of the march.

That is the message from the National People's Congress now taking place in Beijing. Almost every speech so far from senior officials has emphasized the need not just for restraint in economic growth but for discipline in every area.

Meanwhile, on all sides populist pressures antipathetic to the "socialist market economy" appear to be building up. Workers being laid off by state factories, town dwellers unhappy with food prices, peasants from the interior fed up with corrupt officials and aware that they are no longer benefiting from Dengist reforms, intellectuals emerging from their post-Tiananmen shells, and Muslim and other minorities getting restless.

This is not to deny that the economy is still growing at a respectable rate—even if the official figures may need to be discounted by a factor of 50 percent. Nor that the authority may not be content with a system which has brought such big gains in material well-being. Nor that there is any chance of a return to a rigid past of centralized socialist control. But it is to acknowledge that contradictions between economics and politics are again reasserting themselves. That an open market and closed politics are incompatible unless the two can be kept sufficiently separate to prevent mutual contamination.

Even before Deng Xiaoping has been laid to rest, conservative sentiments are reasserting themselves—but as much for pragmatic as for ideological reasons. The senior leader's name is still invoked, but the quotes are from his incantations against "bourgeois liberalization" rather than last year's calls for "fast-paced development."

Of course, there are always ideological elements at work who hanker for Maoist purity. But it does not need an ideology to agree with Li Peng's statement last week that corruption was a "matter of life or death" for the regime and that to "apply

the principles of the marketplace to the activities of government institutions or make deals with power and money" was inadmissible.

Common though such practices may be, including in such prospering economies as Malaysia's, Mr. Li can hardly be blamed for wanting to halt them. Likewise the statement of Planning Minister Chen Jinhua about the primacy of a "stable social environment" indicates both reasonable concerns and the direction of policy.

The plain fact is that China's stability is threatened. The army, still a major focus of national identity and unity, needs more money; according to the new budget, it will get it. Agriculture and poor provinces need help, and get it. But the wherewithal to pay for these political necessities through taxation is not there, no matter how much paperwork has been put into improving the tax system. China faces the sort of problems familiar to Brazil and the Philippines: a political need to spend but a lack of political will to collect.

The net result, according to figures presented to the Congress: a 50 percent rise in the central government's deficit. In turn, that means either higher inflation or a real squeeze on credit elsewhere in the economy, with its accompanying disastrous consequences for China's new fat cat party entrepreneurs.

Unable to get the grip on credit that it would like, the government is already having to fall back on price controls and threats to hold down inflation. This is not ideology. It is desperation. Meanwhile, on another front desperation also reigns. Last November, Beijing ordered an "immediate halt" to investment overseas by Chinese enterprises. Yet there is little sign that the outflow has slowed. Last year, as in 1992, it was probably upward of \$20 billion. (This assumes a current account deficit of \$7 billion, capital inflow of \$20 billion and export under-invoicing as reflected in Hong Kong trade figures of \$10 billion). Beijing has to get a grip on this outflow before it deals

another blow to currency reform, GATT membership and the value of the currency. But how can that be done without rigid central controls?

The dilemma for Beijing is that praise of the marketplace has resulted in the profit motive taking hold of much of the party and bureaucracy, unrestrained by ethical or nationalist principle. Few of the elite may now be entirely clean, least of all those related to the top leaders. They can reasonably adduce that the political dangers to them from not returning to a more authoritarian and perhaps less corrupt system may be much greater than slowing national growth, and their relatives' accumulation of offshore wealth.

Post-Deng there will be a continuation, perhaps in more open form, of the power struggle between individuals that is now going on behind the scenes. Yet perhaps the importance of this struggle is being exaggerated. What the leaders seem to be increasingly worried about is their survival as a group. Either they hang together or they hang separately. If Beijing is worried about losing control while Mr. Deng is still alive, the dangers when he is dead are all the more serious.

The trade impasse with America merely aggravates the situation. If the leaders assume that even with most-favored status the export path has finite limits, they are more prepared to put it at risk and play a nationalist card instead.

As for the West, it needs to modify its black-and-white notions of the links between capitalism, liberalism, free markets and democracy.

To oversimplify: China's capitalists are unpatriotic opportunists, the intellectuals want freedom but distrust both democracy and markets, the party is a fascist bureaucracy, and the urban worker activists—they who touched the tanks in 1989—feel cheated of their socialist birthright.

China is dynamic but also in ferment. It is not necessary to sympathize with Li Peng and Co. to appreciate why a tactical withdrawal from espousal of the market may be unavoidable to keep the system and the nation intact. That is the message from the National People's Congress.

International Herald Tribune

America's Duty to the Wide World Starts at Home

By George F. Kennan

The Council on Foreign Relations held a party for Mr. Kennan, the diplomat and author, in celebration of his 90th birthday on Feb. 13. This article is adapted from his remarks.

NEW YORK — I am reminded that it was 47 years ago that my involvement with the Council on Foreign Relations began in earnest. At the end of 1946, I had addressed a dinner at which I spoke about the Russia of that day. This led to a further meeting, in January, this time with the council's newly established Discussion Group on Soviet Foreign Policy.

It was shortly thereafter that Ham Armstrong, as editor of Foreign Affairs, wrote to me, asking me to set forth in an article for that journal the gist of what I had been saying on these occasions about Russia and Soviet-American relations. What came out of this approach was what became known as the "X" article. And this was the beginning of my life of sin as a participant in the public discussion of Soviet-American relations.

Now first, a word or two from the perspective of 47 intervening years, about what was being discussed at those early meetings. What I was then advocating for our government was a policy of "containment" of Soviet expansionist pressures, a policy aimed at halting the expansion of Soviet power into Central and Western Europe.

I viewed this as primarily a diplomatic and political task, though not wholly without military implications. I considered that if and when we had succeeded in persuading the Soviet leadership that the continuation of these expansionist pressures not only held out for them no hope for success but would be, in many respects, to their disadvantage, then that moment would have come for serious talks with them about the future of Europe.

But when, some three years later, this moment had arrived—when we had made our point with the Mar-

shall Plan, with the successful resistance to the Berlin blockade and other measures—when the lesson I wanted to see us convey to Moscow had been successfully conveyed, then it was one of the great disappointments of my life to discover that neither our government nor our West European allies had any interest in entering into such discussions at all.

What they and the others wanted from Moscow, with respect to the future of Europe, was essentially "unconditional surrender." They were prepared to wait for it. This was the beginning of the 40 years of Cold War. Those of my opponents of that day who have survived into the present age would say, I am sure: "You see. We were right. The collapse of the Soviet system amounted to the unconditional surrender we envisaged—an involuntary one if you will, but surrender nevertheless. And we paid nothing for it."

To which I should have to reply: "But we did pay a great deal for it. We paid with 40 years of enormous and otherwise unnecessary military expenditures. We paid through the cultivation of nuclear weaponry to the point where the vast and useless nuclear arsenal had become (and remains today) a danger to the very environment of the planet."

And we paid, with 40 years of Communist control in Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the damages of which to the structure of civilization in those countries we are only now beginning to observe. We paid all of this because we were too timid to negotiate."

We will never know who was right and who wrong. One course was tried. Its consequences, good and bad, are visible. The other remained hypothetical. Its results will never be known.

We are now in a new age, an age which, for all its confusions and dangers, is marked by one major blessing: for the first time in centuries, there are no great-power rivalries that threaten immediately the peace of the world. We must do all in our power to see that things remain this way.

But aside from that one encouraging situation, what we see is a highly unsettled and unstable world—a world full of squabbles, conflicts and violent encounters, some not without dangers to world peace and stability. This presents a challenge for which we are poorly prepared.

For more than 60 years, the attention of our policymakers and public opinion was monopolized by the effort to respond to what appeared to be, and sometimes were, great and overriding dangers—the Nazis, the Japanese militarists, then Stalin's Russia. Our statesmen and our public are unaccustomed to reacting to a world situation that offers not great and all-absorbing focal points for policy.

And it is not surprising that we should now be hearing demands for some sort of a single grand strategy of foreign policy, to replace our fixation on the Soviet Union and to serve as a

guide for our responses to all those troublesome situations.

And about this demand, coming to us from many quarters, there are one or two things I think we ought to note. First of all, as a problem for American statesmanship, this present situation is not really all that new. Similar situations existed in the early years of this Republic, and again toward the end of the 19th century.

And if you could bring to life some of the wiser of the American statesmen of those earlier periods and ask their opinion about the present demands for some sort of a grand strategy with which to meet all our problems, they would say, I suspect, something like the following: "Why do you want anything like that? Yes, of course, your world is complex. So was ours. But many of these troublesome situations that bother you do not really threaten your interests. Even for those that do, there could be no single grand design—no vast common denominator—that would tell you how each of them should be approached. Each has to be judged on its merit. Discard, then, this traditional American fondness for trying to solve problems by putting them into broad categories."

"What you need are not policies—much less a single policy. What you need are sound principles: principles that accord with the nature, the needs, the interests and the limitations of our country."

Some of these principles seem to be relatively immutable. A number were enunciated by John Quincy Adams in his great Fourth of July speech of 1821, and they have lost none of their relevance. Adams observed that if America should enlist under other banners than her own, "were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom."

Principles, too, have of course to be reviewed and adjusted to meet the particular challenges of the time.

And if you were to ask what such principles might be today, I could only say: "Look closely at our own society. Look at its strengths and weaknesses, at its successes and failures, at the possibilities and the dangers that confront it."

"And then ask yourselves how such a country ought to shape its foreign relations in such a way as to help it to be what it could be to itself and to its world environment, bearing in mind, of course, that it is primarily by example, over by precept, that a country such as ours can exert the most useful influence beyond its borders, and remembering, too, that there are limits to what any one sovereign country can do to help another, and that unless we preserve the quality, the vigor and the morale of our own society, we will be of little use to anyone at all."

The New York Times

Whitewater Shuffles The Queue

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — In the blink of an eye, Roger Altman has gone from holding a "virtual lock" on becoming the next treasury secretary to having to defend his position as the department's No. 2 to Lloyd Bentsen. He may yet avoid winding up in the Whitewater wasteland that has already claimed Bernard Nussbaum and threatens other members of the president's innermost circle, but a smooth movement into Mr. Bentsen's present team has been disrupted and possibly derailed.

The political storm known as Whitewater is complicating an unacknowledged but visible effort by the president to groom a few baby boomers to join him in what many influential positions in the government. Developing successors to gray-bearded establishment figures like Mr. Bentsen and Secretary of State Warren Christopher has been a Clinton priority.

Mr. Altman's place in a generational transition is now in question. His heading of Mr. Nussbaum, the outgoing White House counsel, and other staffers on Whitewater has stirred savage criticism among Republicans and creates doubts about his ability to survive confirmation hearings for a cabinet job. He conducted the briefing in his dual capacity as deputy secretary at Treasury and acting head of the Resolution Trust Corporation, a regulatory agency that is at the heart of the Whitewater affair.

The consequences of being hemmed in on personnel decisions is far broader than the question of whether Mr. Altman gets a promotion. Mr. Clinton leaves an impression of not easily delegating responsibility or authority to officials he has not known for a long time or who have not worked their way into the complementary set of his and Her Inner Circles that distinguish the Clintons' White House.

Mr. Altman, 47, was Mr. Clinton's classmate at Georgetown University before becoming one of Wall Street's top investment bankers. Like Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, also 47 and another former presidential classmate, and Deputy National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, 48, he seemed to have been given a post that would prepare him to move into a more senior position after a few years of on-the-job training.

Cabinet departments where Mr. Clinton does not have an intimate at the top, such as Defense, have been the source of many of his policy problems in his first year. Areas in which he is not himself an authority or where he does not have someone in charge who holds his complete trust have been subject to policy logjams and vacillating leadership.

He does not seem comfortable with the mix of chums and pros in his cabinet. Whitewater does not make it easier to assemble a team with which he can work smoothly.

Whitewater also makes it far harder to restore the electorate's faith in government, a goal he adopted during the campaign. Questions about seemingly minor ethical lapses by people who are not only his appointees but also his friends loom large.

Some of the controversy around Mr. Altman's White House briefing has stirred a once steady stream of rumors that Mr. Bentsen would be returning to Texas later this year, to be replaced either by Mr. Altman or by Robert Rubin, head of the White House's National Economic Council.

The 73-year-old ex-senator could be an unwitting beneficiary of the Whitewater uproar. "However long Bentsen was going to stay has just been lengthened," says a senior figure in the Democratic Party.

"Lloyd found it appropriate to remind Altman that he was still treasury secretary and intends to be secretary for a while," says another prominent Democratic, noting that Mr. Bentsen quickly distanced himself from Mr. Altman by disclaiming any knowledge of the White House meeting and by calling for a departmental inquiry into its circumstances.

The negative publicity around Les Aspin's forced departure from Defense and the stumbling of Boris Yeltsin's government in Russia may be giving Warren Christopher new security as secretary of state as well. Mr. Talbott, the architect of the administration's Russia policy, has become the main lightning rod at State, drawing away criticism previously directed at Mr. Christopher.

None of this changes what Mr. Clinton would like and may yet do. But the march of the baby boomers to the summit of the U.S. government will probably take longer than they expected just a few weeks ago.

The Washington Post

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Rebels Surrender

NEW YORK — The Brazilian insurgents have surrendered. The Herald's correspondent cabled from Rio: "At ten o'clock yesterday morning [March 12] the Portuguese Minister presented Admiral da Gama's proposals, asking liberty for the navy officers now in prison, amnesty for the sailors on the ships, and that compromised officials be permitted to retire to Europe. The President replied, 'The President declares that he cannot receive any proposals from persons in insurrection against the legal Government. They must surrender without conditions.'"

1919: Sinn Fein Visit

LONDON — An announcement by De Valera, the Sinn Fein leader who recently escaped from jail in Ireland, that he would soon visit the United States has evoked a statement from the immigration authorities at Washington that De Valera will be authorized in land only in case he has a

passport such as is issued in wartime. The opinion expressed in America is that England will certainly refuse De Valera the necessary papers, and if he should reach the United States by unlawful means, the American Government will take measures to apprehend and deliver him to the British authorities.

1944: Ireland Off-Limits

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] Great Britain has clamped tight restrictions on travel between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Eire in a swift aftermath to Prime Minister Eamon de Valera's refusal to oust Axis diplomatic representatives from Eire. The British government announced that effective immediately, "no more permits or visas for travel between the two islands will be granted except for business or work of national importance." It was reported in London that this was only the first step deemed upon in a move to isolate neutral Eire.

International Herald Tribune

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مكتبة النخيل

Britain and Germany Head for a Showdown on the EU's Future

By Tom Buerkle

BRUSSELS — The European Union deadlock over power-sharing has boiled down to a battle of wills between a Britain determined to keep a brake on European integration, and a Germany eager to reshape the Union by adding its Northern and Eastern neighbors, EU officials say.

Prime Minister John Major, scraping bottom in opinion polls and heading for a drubbing in elections for local councils in May and the European Parliament in June, is using the dispute over internal EU voting rights to solidify his support among the Conservative Party's anti-European wing, EU officials say.

"It's a mixture of domestic party politics and the traditional British approach to European affairs — the easier it should be to block and the harder it should be to take action," a EU diplomat said.

Germany is not without sympathy for Britain's position, which seeks to maintain the power of big states to block EU legislation. As the most populous EU country, it stands to gain the most if the power of large states is reinforced.

But officials have made it clear that Bonn is determined to set aside the vetoing debate to pursue enlargement. Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel told parliament on Thursday that the addition of Sweden, Finland, Norway and Austria — rich industrial countries with a free-trade bias — would restore balance to a Union long geared toward the

NEWS ANALYSIS

agricultural interests of its Mediterranean members.

Moreover, German officials say, the current enlargement negotiations are a necessary step toward the eventual membership of Poland, Hungary and other East European countries. Their entry would guarantee Germany a security buffer against Russia and ensure the development of market economies in a region where German industry is investing heavily.

"We must not allow the process of European Union to suffer a serious setback because of internal problems among the old members," Mr. Kinkel said Thursday. "No one should be deceived —

a failure of enlargement negotiations would lead to a serious crisis."

EU officials and diplomats reported on signs of a breaking the deadlock ahead of a crucial meeting of foreign ministers here Tuesday, despite intensive German lobbying, including an extraordinary appeal last week by Chancellor Helmut Kohl for Britain and Spain to stop obstructing the enlargement negotiations.

Mr. Kohl has numbers on his side. Nine of the 12 EU members, citing a decision at the Lisbon summit meeting to June 1992 to maintain the Union's power balance until a 1996 intergovernmental conference, want the minority needed to block legislation raised when the four candidate countries enter. That would require 27 votes to block, which represents three large states or two large and two or three small ones, instead of 23 votes currently, or two large states and one small one.

The change is needed to ensure that the Union can continue to take collective action as it grows, supporters say. "We must not make the decision-making process more difficult," said Richard

Duquet, spokesman for Foreign Minister Alain Juppé of France.

The European Parliament also is in Germany's camp, as leaders have declared they would veto the enlargement agreements if the blocking minority is left unchanged.

But British officials maintained that the blocking minority cannot be altered before 1996 because it would involve a fundamental shift in power away from large states.

Spain's stance is more nuanced, calling for a blocking minority of 23 votes when four or more states are involved but 27 votes when three states are involved. Because council votes are not determined strictly by population, officials point out that Spain, Italy and Greece can just muster 23 votes despite having 28 percent of the population, while eight small countries in an enlarged Union could amass 27 blocking votes with just 12 percent.

But Spain's real concern is preserving EU development and farm subsidies in a Union where power is shifting to the industrial north.

The irony of Britain's position is that it threatens to block the membership bids of four countries

that tend to share the British view of the Union as a loose bloc linked mainly in the interest of free trade.

Germany, backed by the European Commission, has offered to set up a special committee to review blocking power as long as the minority is raised to 27 votes. But German officials insist that any changes will have to await the 1996 conference, which is designed to review everything from voting power in the council to the size and role of the European Parliament and the commission.

EU officials said their best hope of a solution was to resolve a separate dispute over fishing rights between Spain and Norway, the last issue holding up Oslo's membership agreement.

EU officials hope a victory on fish will allow Spain to back down on voting rights, leaving Britain as the only holdout.

"I think the British are aware that they risk being isolated, and I think they want to avoid that," said one EU official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

U.S. Offers A Carrot To Pakistan On Arms

By Eric Schmitt

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration is proposing that Congress lift the ban on U.S. military aid to Pakistan in return for a verifiable Pakistani commitment to halt production of nuclear weapons materials.

The plan, which is in the early stages of discussion, would allow Pakistan to take possession of dozens of F-16 fighters it has already paid for but which were never delivered because of a legislative roadblock known as the Pressler Amendment.

That amendment bans military aid to Pakistan unless the president can certify that Islamabad neither has nuclear weapons nor is trying to develop them. The White House has been unable to make that certification for nearly four years.

State Department officials in the last few weeks began meeting with staff members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees to determine if Congress would support the administration plan to repeal the amendment or at least seek an exemption to it. Administration officials also spoke to Pakistani officials about Islamabad putting caps on its fissile materials, and allowing a verifiable inspection regime.

"The idea would be to see what you could get in terms of limits on the nuclear program," a senior administration official said. "It's part of an approach to address proliferation in South Asia generally."

Officials say that the administration proposal, which would require legislative approval, is part of a policy to stem the spread of nuclear arms in South Asia, where India and Pakistan have gone to war three times since independence in 1947.

In Washington, some lawmakers strongly oppose the administration proposal, arguing that it sends the wrong message to Third World countries: that the United States will tolerate their building small nuclear arsenals but not large ones.

The proposal implicitly recognizes that Washington has failed to prevent Pakistan from developing the ability to build a nuclear weapon and now is trying to constrain the country's nuclear program.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said in November that Pakistan would not give up its nuclear program despite pressure from Washington.

IRS Had Warning in Spy Case

But CIA Never Asked if Large Bank Deposits Were Made

By Ronald J. Ostrow and Robert L. Jackson

Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — A suburban Virginia bank in which the accused CIA spy Aldrich Hazen Ames allegedly stashed payments from the Russians notified the government of suspicious deposits, but federal officials over-acted on the warnings, according to government sources.

The notifications were on file at the Internal Revenue Service after security officials from the Central Intelligence Agency began having qualms about Mr. Ames's wealth, but the CIA never asked the IRS whether excessive deposits by Mr. Ames might have been made, the sources said.

The information might have led to an earlier investigation of Mr. Ames and his wife, Rosario. However, it failed to reach the CIA or the FBI, which conducts counterintelligence investigations, and both the House and Senate intelligence committees are trying to learn why.

At least two currency reports on the Ameses were filed with the IRS by Dominion Bank of Virginia. The reports were made after the couple deposited cash sums totaling tens of thousands of dollars in individual amounts below \$10,000, the normal threshold for triggering such reports, the sources said.

The bank reports represent the latest warning to be made public and perhaps the most clear-cut signal missed by law enforcement agencies in the Ames case. Mr.

Ames is alleged to have spied for Moscow for nine years.

Mr. Ames's superiors at the CIA became suspicious after he paid \$540,000 in cash for a house in 1989 and questioned him with a polygraph about his finances, but they reportedly never asked the IRS for bank reports. Mr. Ames said he bought the house with money he inherited from his father-in-law, a statement that prosecutors said they have found to be false.

Other warning signs, previously reported, were the executions or disappearance of at least 10 foreign agents cooperating with the CIA at a time when Mr. Ames held a high post in the CIA's Soviet-East European division.

Although FBI and CIA officials refused to comment, other sources said that Virginia bank executives filed reports with the IRS in the late 1980s or early 1990s out of concern that Mr. Ames was "structuring" cash deposits to keep them under \$10,000 apiece.

One report, according to the sources, said that Mr. Ames had made deposits totaling \$20,000 that included some Italian currency. Mr. Ames served in Rome from 1986 to 1989, and allegedly received large payments there from the Russians, before returning to Washington.

Swiss Open Investigation

Swiss Embassy officials said the Ameses were targets of a criminal investigation in that country and that their holdings in three Swiss banks had been frozen. The Wash-

ington Post reported from Washington.

Thomas Borer, the embassy's legal counsel, said federal prosecutors were attempting to determine if money from espionage, the two are charged with committing wound up in Swiss banks. If so, he said, the Swiss government could file charges.

Although there is little likelihood the United States ever would put the Ameses in Swiss custody, the embassy's news heartened U.S. investigators who have been seeking the country's cooperation in the case.

So far, the FBI has been unable to examine Swiss bank records because the Swiss authorities have taken the position that the Ameses' alleged offense is a political crime against the United States. But now that the Swiss are conducting their own investigation, some cooperation could occur, Mr. Borer said.

Malcolm X's Widow Says Farrakhan Played Role in Slaying

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Malcolm X's widow says she believes that Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam movement, was involved in her husband's assassination.

Betty Shabazz has criticized Mr. Farrakhan before, but has never directly accused him of complicity in the 1965 assassination. In an interview to be broadcast Sunday by WNBC-TV, Mrs. Shabazz was asked if she thought Mr. Farrakhan "had anything to do with the death of your husband."

"Of course, yes," Mrs. Shabazz replied. "Nobody kept it a secret. It was a badge of honor. Everybody talked about it."

Mrs. Shabazz wasn't asked to elaborate. Telephone calls to her home Saturday went unanswered.

Leonard F. Muhammad, chief of staff for the Nation of Islam, denied the charge. He called it part of an effort "to assassinate the character of, cause the false and unjust imprisonment of and incite the murder of Min-

ister Louis Farrakhan and the destruction of the Nation of Islam."

Malcolm X, who had been the voice of the Nation of Islam under its leader, Elijah Muhammad, was killed from the group in 1963.

Mr. Farrakhan, who was recruited into the Nation of Islam by Malcolm X, wrote in the Dec. 4, 1964, issue of Muhammad Speaks, the organization's newspaper: "The die is set and Malcolm shall not escape. Such a man is worthy of death." Mr. Farrakhan was chief

minister of the Nation of Islam's Boston mosque at the time.

Malcolm X was shot to death while speaking in New York City on Feb. 21, 1965. Three black Muslims were convicted of murder. One, Thomas Hayer, remains in prison and has named four other men as being his co-conspirators.

The Nation of Islam split after Elijah Muhammad's death in 1975. Mr. Farrakhan became leader of the smaller faction, which kept the group's name.



BOTTOMS UP, THUMBS DOWN — All but one Polish politician chose not to share dinner and a vodka toast in Warsaw with the Russian ultranationalist, Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky, left. The one who did was Jacek Sobotka, head of a small rightist party.

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stupendous fireworks. And culminating in the bonfire to end all bonfires. The ceremonial burning

of satirical images. • All through spring and summer, the Valencianos let few things stand

in the way of a good time. When they're not incinerating caricatures, they're very keen

on mock-battles between Moors and Christians. • While the whole of Spain loves a fiesta,

in Valencia they've got it down to a fine art.



Passion for life

Pretoria Controls Bophuthatswana

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

MMABATHO, South Africa — The government took control of Bophuthatswana on Sunday to ensure the black homeland's participation in South Africa's first all-race election next month.

Foreign Minister R.F. Botha said South Africa no longer recognized Lucas Mangope as president of the homeland, and South Africa's ambassador, Tjaart van der Walt, was put in charge, probably until new leaders are chosen in the April 26-28 vote.

Mr. van der Walt said that a return to normal life was essential so political campaigning could begin in a stable climate. He also assured residents he would address the complaints that led to strikes and protests against Mr. Mangope.

The government said Mr. Mangope would be placed under army guard for his own "safety and protection," but it did not elaborate.

Mr. Mangope had resisted letting the nominally independent homeland take part in the election.

even after strikes and rioting killed at least 24 people last week.

One of his top aides, Defense Minister Rowan Cronje, said Sunday that Mr. Mangope had "accepted the situation."

Mr. Cronje said that Bophuthatswana did not want to be returned to South African rule, but officials realized they could not defy the government and the African National Congress. Although Bophuthatswana is nominally independent, it is to be reincorporated into South Africa under the new constitution. The government body

overseeing the election has been given broad authority to ensure the balloting takes place, and that authority is construed as allowing it to depose Mr. Mangope.

Only a few white extremist groups and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, remain opposed to the April election. There are fears their opposition could bring increased political violence and disrupt the election.

The ANC had been pressing for Mr. Mangope's ouster for several days because he opposed participation in the election.

His removal also was seen as a warning to the Freedom Alliance, a grouping of pro-apartheid whites and conservative blacks, such as Mr. Mangope, who oppose the election because the ANC is expected to win. They fear the ANC will trample the rights of its opponents after the election.

Chief Buthelezi condemned the takeover of Bophuthatswana, saying that Mr. Mangope had been brought down by violence orchestrated by the ANC, its Communist Party ally and the government.

"There appear to be indications that the same strategies are being devised for action in KwaZulu," he said. He added that KwaZulu "is not Bophuthatswana."

"We are intent on seeking democratic ways and means of reaching constitutional agreements," he said. People in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana's capital, and the neighboring business center of Mafikeng reacted warily to the news that Mr. Mangope was out. Many said they lacked faith that a South African official backed by South African troops would improve the situation.

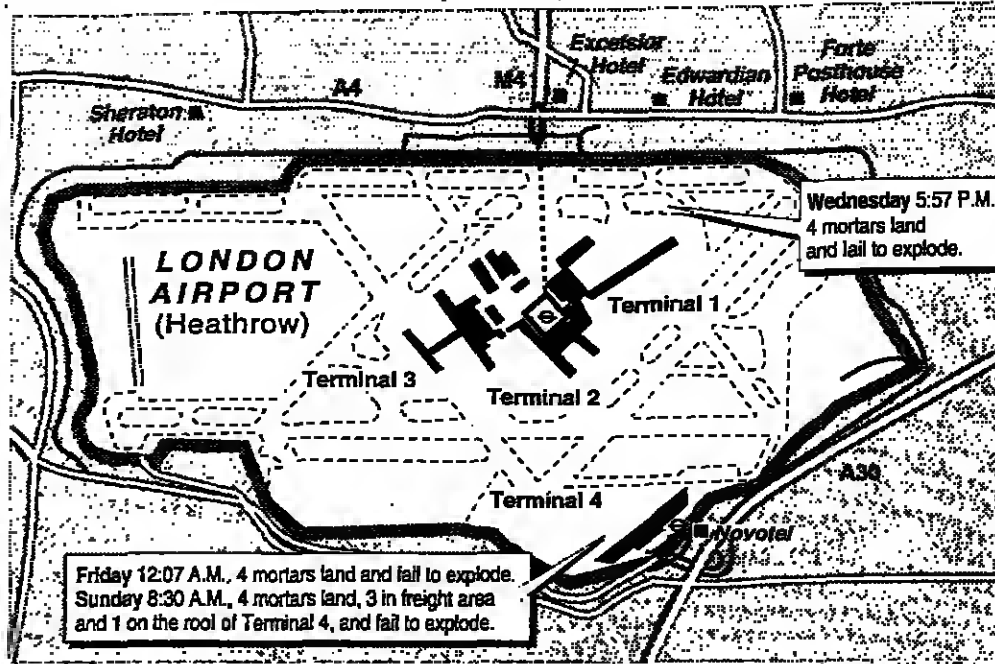
"It's good news because we don't want Mangope," said Geoff Moollet, a law student at the homeland university. As long as South Africa's multiracial Transitional Executive Council is involved, he said, "then it's fine."

Mr. Mangope, who had been president since Bophuthatswana was declared independent in 1977, as part of a program to relegate blacks to remote areas, agreed Friday to participate in the election.

But his concession came only after his security forces had begun backing ANC protesters. Even so, he agreed only to run himself and did not pledge to allow others to campaign in Bophuthatswana.

Trouble continued elsewhere Sunday as thousands of rival blacks turned a political rally into tense armed confrontation. State radio said four people were killed, three of them in clashes between rival ANC and Inkatha supporters, after the police had apparently defused the immediate crisis in a stadium in the Natal port of Durban.

(AP, Reuters)



AIRPORT: New Heathrow Shelling Spreads Chaos

Continued from Page 1

are coming back night after night to thwart security forces. We have heard that some have secreted one or more devices at the airport and then slunk away into the night."

He discounted one theory based upon the fact that none of the 12 shells fired had exploded: that the IRA was intentionally firing duds to prove what it could do without incurring worldwide wrath from killing innocent people. He said that all the devices were "potentially viable" and contained explosives, suggesting that they had failed to detonate because of defects.

After the morning attack, one of the two runways was closed for five hours and 15 minutes, and Terminal 4 was evacuated while a search was conducted for more shells. Eight incoming flights, including four from the United States and Canada, were diverted to other airports in England, and 30 outgoing flights were canceled.

Traffic around the airport was snarled for miles during the day on Sunday, and delays in other terminals ran into hours. Terminal 1, filled with evacuees from Terminal 4, was jammed with piles of luggage and exhausted and anxious travelers.

Shortly after the attack, the police found a launcher, a metal rack with five 18-inch cylindrical tubes. It had been buried in a hole three to four feet deep and covered with plywood and dirt and grass in a patch of scrubland 70 to 80 feet beyond a perimeter fence south of the airport.

Commissioner Condon said that the mortars had been triggered by a timer. A similar device was found on the launcher used in the second attack, which was above ground in a wooded area next to the main highway running just south of the airport. The first launcher was positioned in the back of a stolen car in the parking lot of a hotel about 400 yards from the runway where the shells landed.

WALDHEIM: Role in Atrocities

Continued from Page 1

Waldheim's defense against these charges and finds them duplicitous or unconvincing.

The principal author of the report was Neil M. Sher, former director of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, which handles all cases involving suspected Nazi war criminals or collaborators. Mr. Sher is now president of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee.

"I would call it a very well done prosecution brief," said David Vladeck, the Washington lawyer who

obtained the report's release through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit he filed on behalf of two writers. It shows that Mr. Meese had ample legal grounds for hating Mr. Waldheim from the United States, Mr. Vladeck said, but whether it proves Mr. Waldheim is personally guilty of war crimes is debatable.

Carl Stern, U.S. Justice Department spokesman, said the department released the document after years of fighting to keep it secret because Attorney General Janet Reno has relaxed the department's secrecy guidelines.

Air Strike Ordered on Serb Guns Is Canceled

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Planes from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were ordered to strike at Bosnian Serbs firing at French troops, but the raid was called off Sunday after the Serbian guns fell silent.

The attack order, coming less than two weeks after NATO planes downed four Bosnian Serb fighters, demonstrated United Nations resolve to protect UN ground troops. But the decision to rescind the strike after the Serbs stopped firing — poor visibility also played a role — also showed that NATO sought to avoid confrontation.

The UN special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, ordered NATO planes to strike at Serbian positions near Bihać in northwest Bosnia following attacks on French troops Saturday. UN officials said. A French soldier was killed in the area Friday. But the Serbs withdrew before the planes could attack.

Elsewhere, UN military observers braved Serbian artillery fire on Sunday to enter the Muslim town of Maglaj in northern Bosnia. NATO jets flying low over the town apparently prompted Serbian gunners to stop a barrage and allow the observers to enter the town for the first time in nine months.

The UN observers will report on the situation in Maglaj, where the Serbs have been blocking UN food aid since October. The town has borne the brunt of fighting in Bosnia since cease-fires went into effect between Serbs and Muslims in Sarajevo and between Croats and Muslims elsewhere in Bosnia.

In another step forward in the peace process, Bosnia's Muslims and Croats agreed Sunday to establish a federation in Bosnia. The accord came after 10 days of talks at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna. The final agreement is due to be signed in Washington at the end of the week. A U.S. mediator, Charles E. Redman, said the next stage would be to bring the Bosnian Serbs into an overall peace settlement.

The federation package includes a constitution, a presidency, a federal government, an assembly and a decentralized cantonal system. The number of cantons was not specified.

Bosnian Serb leaders have turned a cold shoulder to suggestions that they join the federation. But a Russian envoy, Vitali I. Churkin, said there could be a place for the Serbs in the federation if the plan were broadened into an overall peace settlement.

UN officials said Sunday that the air strike was ordered after a Serbian tank fired at a French armored vehicle near Bihać, and Bosnian Serbs fired on French positions machine guns and anti-aircraft guns.

John Jeffery, a NATO spokesman in Naples, said the French peacekeepers asked for the air support late Saturday. Two U.S. AC-130 gunships based in Italy were sent on an attack mission but UN controllers called off the strike two hours later, after the ground fire halted.

Prime Minister Edouard Balladur of France and his defense minister, François Léotard, inspected troops in the area Sunday.

The Belgrade-based Tanjug news agency said the Bosnian Serb commander, General Ratko Mladic, had complained in a letter to Mr. Akashi that the French peacekeepers were protecting Muslim forces and that "a self-defense action by our soldiers thus could have serious consequences" for the French troops.

There were these related developments Sunday:

• Guarded by French armored vehicles, thousands of Sarajevans, regardless of religion, jammed the city's main cemetery Sunday, which opened on a Muslim holiday, for the first time in nearly two years of war. The Bare cemetery, located on a hillside north of the city, had been closed since April 1992.

• Traffic rules returned to Sarajevo amid curses and confusion as residents who survived snipers by driving fast found themselves admonished to slow down and stay on the right side of the road. As Sarajevo settles into the fifth week of a cease-fire, streetcars were in service along the city's main east-west thoroughfare on Sunday and warm weather saw scores of sidewalk cafes opening. (AP, Reuters)

ISRAEL: Crackdown on 2 Jewish Extremist Groups

Continued from Page 1

to the negotiations on Palestinian self-rule. Mr. Rabin departs for a visit to the United States this week. Moshe Negbi, a commentator on Israeli law, said the effectiveness of the measure would depend on its enforcement by the police and army. "This is the critical question," he said. "If there is no determination to enforce it, the declaration is useless."

He added, "So far, we did not see, I must say, determination of law enforcement to enforce the law."

Mr. Negbi said leaders of the organizations could be sentenced to up to 20 years in prison.

"If you just outlaw the organizations and you do nothing, it's almost not a blow," said Professor

Ehud Sprinzak of Hebrew University. "If you follow that by closing the offices, and confiscating materials and printing machines and make it almost impossible for these people to act, to publicize, to propagate, then, of course, it's a beginning." He said that if then they are put in jail, "then it would be a major blow."

"In general," he said, "it can be easily done."

According to Professor Sprinzak, author of a book about the rise of the radical right in Israel, Mr. Kahane was the first to introduce Jewish violence and vigilantism into the complex relations between Jews and Arabs in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Professor Sprinzak said that Mr. Kahane was a racist against Arabs, denouncing

them as "cancer, cancer, cancer in the midst of us." He once submitted a bill to Israel's parliament to completely separate Jews and non-Jews in Israel.

Kach picked up steam in the early 1980s, and Mr. Kahane was elected to the parliament in 1984. Kach's message was simple: Evict Arabs from the Jewish state. Professor Sprinzak said many of the people who supported it were "attracted to the party because its anti-establishment posture appeals to their immense social bitterness and political alienation."

Although Mr. Kahane was barred from the parliamentary election in 1988, his activists were particularly strong in Kiryat Arba, a settlement with a history of ideological activism located near Hebron.

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مكتبة الأصيل

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Rating the World's Best Restaurants: SPAIN



With this page on Spain, the IHT's restaurant critic, Patricia Wells, continues to rate the world's top restaurants, and to compile a list of the Top 10. Each month features a different destination. A companion report focuses on more casual and affordable restaurants. In future months we will look at restaurants in Britain, Italy, Germany and more. If you would like to share your favorites with Patricia Wells, please write her at the IHT.

The Top Tables

- No. 1: Zuberoa, Barrio Iturriotz (Iturriotz in Basque) 8, Oyarzun (Oiarzun), 13 kilometers east of San Sebastián; tel: (43) 49-12-28.
- No. 2: El Racó de Can Fabes, Sant Joan 6, San Cebadi (San Cebadi in Catalan), 50 kilometers north of Barcelona; tel: (3) 867-28-51.
- No. 3: Arzak, Alto de Miracruz 21, San Sebastián; tel: (43) 27-34-63.

International Herald Tribune

CERTAINLY the best sign of a good meal is one's instant desire to return. I hadn't spent more than five minutes in the gentle country dining room of Zuberoa, a short drive from San Sebastián, the Spanish Basque city, when I found myself already plotting a return trip.

I can't imagine anyone being unhappy in this 600-year-old farmhouse, with its huge terrace overlooking a vast expanse of green, rolling hills, its stone walls, and its cool blue and white decor, attentively attended by ladies in crisp black and white.

Of course, it's a family affair, with Iñaki Arbelaitz, deftly handling the old coal-burning cast-iron stove, brother José María working his magic with the exquisite pastries, and brother Eusebio calmly directing the dining room.

The food here is from the heart, thoroughly Basque and brilliantly original. The meal could open with a perfect, single fresh anchovy, split open and marinated in fragrant extra-virgin olive oil and a touch of vinegar, then topped with a sparkling fresh salsa of cubed fresh tomatoes, celery and green pepper. Chef Arbelaitz's idea of a salad might be fresh langoustines split and grilled to a caramelized edge, set

upon a thin bed of wilted greens, then showered with minuscule cubes of sweetbread and pig's feet, adding a warm, rich, substantial texture to it all.

Other high points of a multicourse meal include a perfectly seared lobe of foie gras floating in a gentle broth, thickened slightly with fresh chick peas; extraordinarily robust and full-flavored breast of pigeon cooked rare and paired with a lovely Italian-style risotto topped with a tiny chorizo sausage; and an unforgettable tarta de queso, a tangy-sweet cheese tart that lies somewhere in the stratosphere between cheesecake and quiche. With it all, sample the fine local white *txacoli* and then a ruby *Rioja*.

Closed Sunday dinner, Monday, the first two weeks in January, last two weeks in October, 8,000-peseta (\$56) tasting menu. A la carte, 4,200 to 6,200 pesetas, including service but not wine.

El Racó de Can Fabes, a half-hour's drive north of Barcelona, presents pleasing contrasts. The decor is old and rustic, the cuisine modern, slightly wacky, exceptionally energetic. Chef Santi Santamaria is dedicated to promoting the cooking of Spain, particularly his native Catalan cuisine. He is clearly not content with his Michelin two-star status, and is considered a serious contender for the top rating.

Come to this wood-beamed former tavern for a gastronomic feast, and don't be in a hurry. A tasting meal might begin with a pair of poached quail eggs set on a bed of *espardeyes*, a newly prized variety of sea cucumber that has long been eaten by Catalan fishermen, and a sweet, finely textured delicacy worth seeking out when dining in the region.

Santamaria's passion for wild mushrooms and black truffles is carried from kitchen to table, as with his oobly textured *royal de trufas*, a new rendition on a classic *royal* (a creamy poached custard-like mixture) incorporating rich truffle cream with a layer of sliced, fresh truffles. Chef Santamaria's chicken consommé — *consommé de gallina* — made me want to run to the kitchen and begin preparing a kettle of consommé; while his *pulpos con habas*, miniature crunchy baby octopus topped with tiny fresh fava beans, offered the epitome of pure, unadorned flavors and textures.

He has become famous for his *ravioli de gambas* — a carpaccio of the freshest baby shrimp molded upon a "filling" of pureed, sautéed wild mushrooms and showered with chives and parsley — though I have my doubts about its validity. The dish lacks a legitimate



Clockwise from top left: Pastry chef Nuria with her father, Isidre Gironés, in Ca l'Isidre kitchen; Zuberoa dining room; Chef Santi Santamaria and his wife outside El Racó de Can Fabes; Jean-Pierre Vandel of El Olivo.

destination: Truly fresh shrimp have such a sweet flavor and a texture of pillowlike fluffiness when cooked, it seems wrong to denature them by serving them, basically, raw.

Yet he redeems himself with a finely gamy *beza* (woodcock), served with an original and refreshing salad of radish greens and baby turnips. His cellar holds some true, exciting treasures, including a sparkling cava (Recaredo Brut de Brus), an extraordinary 1985 Cabernet Sauvignon (D.O. Costers del Segre), and a sweet closer, Moscatell Costa D'Alente.

Closed Sunday dinner, Monday, the first two weeks in February and in July. A la carte, 6,400 to 7,500 pesetas, including service but not wine.

The seaside town of San Sebastián has more to offer than true character, an innate charm and a fabulous market. It also has Juan Mari Arzak, whose Arzak is only the second restaurant in Spain to be honored with a third Michelin star. (The first was Madrid's Zela.)

Arzak is situated in an old house on the main road leading into town, and much like San Sebastián itself, the walls all but speak with a casual style of homegrown elegance. And while Arzak's food can certainly make one turn cartwheels, I found a very certain lack of enthusiasm in the kitchen, enough to keep it from the very top of the list. What's more, the tables are too closely spaced, and service is lackluster.

That said, I'd go back any day to savor this carefully considered cuisine, marriages of flavors and ingredients that are either totally obvious or willfully reckless. The most earth-shaking dish of a series of samplings was a combination of langoustines, woody, fresh morel mushrooms and just a spoonful of palate-awakening almond puree. The woods, the sea, the orchard never saw happier companions, as

the dynamic identities of the mushroom and the crustacean held their own, and the haunting almond flavor flattered them even more.

I was equally enchanted by his expertly cooked *merlu*, or hake, served in two sauces: a leading-role sauce of black, cuttlefish ink and another a rich, intense, almost unctuous onion puree. It's food that appears simple on the palate, yet the results come about only through a laborious series of refinements. Arzak creates a wild pigeon salad, offering rosy pigeon breast on a bed of green and white pasta swirled with strips of zucchini, mushrooms and snips of ham; roasts the rare baby octopus simple and neat; and offers an exquisite puff pastry layered with fresh berries and creams.

Closed Sunday dinner, Monday, the last two weeks in June, and November, 7,100-peseta tasting menu. A la carte, 6,000 to 7,400 pesetas, including service but not wine.



THE LIST SO FAR

The following is an evolving list of the 10 best restaurants in the world and the 10 best casual restaurants, based on reporting so far. The list includes reviews on Hong Kong, Tokyo, the United States, France, the Benelux countries and Spain. With each monthly report the list may change, as restaurants are re-evaluated on a world scale, and new competition comes on board.

The Top Tables

- No. 1: Joël Robuchon, 59 Avenue Raymond-Poincaré, Paris 16, tel: 47-27-12-27.
- No. 2: Lai Ching Heen, The Regent, Salisbury Road, Hong Kong, tel: 721-1211.
- No. 3: Le Louis XV-Alain Ducasse, Hôtel de Paris, Place du Casino, Monte Carlo, tel: 92-16-30-01.
- No. 4: Ki-Cho (Kitcho), Chou-ku, Ginza 1-11-2, Tsukamoto Sozan Building, (B1, basement), Tokyo, tel: 3333-3600.
- No. 5: Jiro, Chuo-ku, Ginza 4-2-15, Tsukamoto Sozan Building (B1, basement), Tokyo, tel: 3333-6000.
- No. 6: Guy Savoy, 18 Rue Troyon, Paris 17, tel: 43-80-40-61.
- No. 7: Taillevent, 15 Rue Lamennais, Paris 8, tel: 43-63-96 01 and 43-61-12-92.
- No. 8: Restaurant Daniel, 20 East 76th Street, New York, tel: (212) 288-0033.
- No. 9: Comme Ça Va, Place Rouppes 23, Brussels, tel: 512-29-21.
- No. 10: Zuberoa, Barrio Iturriotz (Iturriotz in Basque) 8, Oyarzun (Oiarzun), Spain, tel: (43) 49-12-28.

Casual Dining

- No. 1: Al Formo, 577 South Main Street, Providence, Rhode Island, tel: (401) 273-9767.
- No. 2: La Tupina, 6 Porte de la Monnaie, Bordeaux, tel: 56-91-36-37.
- No. 3: Frontiers Grill, 445 North Clark, Chicago, tel: (312) 661-1434.
- No. 4: Victoria City Seafood Restaurant, Sun Hung Kai Centre, Wanchai, Hong Kong, tel: 877-8938.
- No. 5: City Chin Chow Restaurant, East Ocean Centre, 98 Granville Road, Tsim Sha Tsui East, Kowloon, Hong Kong, tel: 723-6226.
- No. 6: Le Camille, 6 Rue de Chevreuse, Paris, tel: 43-20-63-43.
- No. 7: Ca l'Isidre, Les Flors 12, Barcelona, tel: 523-4478.
- No. 8: Viridiana, Juan de Mena 14, Madrid, tel: 523-4478.
- No. 9: A la Table des Goullons, 17-19 Rue de la Résistance, L-4996 Schœwerel, Luxembourg, tel: 37-00-08.
- No. 10: Café Crocodile, 354 East 74th Street, New York, tel: (212) 249-6619.

TIPS

International Herald Tribune

IT HAS been said for so long, it has become a cliché. Spanish food is the most underrated in the world. Cliché or not, we should all keep on saying it, for Spanish fare could and should stand proudly next to those of its overexposed neighbors, France and Italy.

Who can top Spain for quality, freshness and inventiveness with fish and shellfish? Who makes better, more luscious or unctuous ham? Few cuisines can improve on Spain's use of red peppers, almonds, anchovies, salt cod, olives or olive oil.

They don't have an extensive inventory of cheeses, but Spaniards can turn out a pretty spectacular sheep's milk cheese. Who even knows that Spanish soil harbors some of the world's finest black truffles? And their wines are quite spectacular, too. Not to mention all the virtues of the Mediterranean diet.

So what's wrong with the picture? Spain already has a food-eager, even food-obsessed, populace — an essential foundation for a consolidated, flourishing cuisine. It also has a growing band of young, deservedly chauvinistic chefs out beating their pots and pans for the cause.

What Spanish cuisine lacks is ambassadors: quality Spanish restaurants abroad, a healthier tourist industry. Around the world, ask the man on the street, and the only food he'll connect with Spain is paella.

Meanwhile, go to Spain and see for yourself. Open your palates to ultra-fresh fish and shellfish grilled simply, then topped with garlic and oil; to rustic slices of bread scrubbed with tomatoes and topped with anchovies; to tapas bar potatoes bathed in a spicy aioli.

Tour Barcelona's covered market and stop at the Bar Pincho for a bracing espresso, a breakfast of thinly sliced, grilled artichokes, fresh-from-the-fishmonger's langoustines, sweet and sheerly decadent fried sweets.

The single caveat is to remember that the Spaniards will pay any price for fresh fish. So be sure to calculate the price before you order, particularly on shellfish priced by weight. Or, like certain impulsive customers, you'll end up paying up to \$100 for a single rosy spider crab, or *gambolla*. But what a delicious, meaty, succulent spider crab it was.

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CASUAL DINING

- No. 1: Ca l'Isidre, Les Flors 12, Barcelona, tel: 523-4478.
- No. 2: Viridiana, Juan de Mena 14, Madrid, tel: 523-4478.
- No. 3: El Olivo, 1 General Gallegos at corner of Juan Ramón Jiménez, Madrid, tel: 359-1535.

International Herald Tribune

OVER a series of visits to Spain, Barcelona's Ca l'Isidre stands out above the rest. A small family restaurant run by the purely professional and outgoing Isidre Gironés and his daughter, Nuria, it offers a true cuisine of the market, as the intense, dark-eyed Isidre scours the lively Boqueria central market each morning, handpicking the finest of whitebait for deep-frying, the freshest Spanish artichokes, the high-grade pork loin that's cured like ham, and the firm gloves of garlic that go into his seamless, eggless aioli.

I think of this compact, bistro-sized restaurant — with its crisp white linens, and

walls lined with artwork — as a classy cocoon for gourmands. Serious eaters come alone, tuck white napkins beneath their chairs, and carefully savor every morsel in silence.

Don't miss a chance to sample Isidre's *fideos*, tiny vermicelli pan-fried in oil, then baked in broth until a outly flavor dominates. Served sizzling hot, with an aioli made only of garlic, lemon juice and olive oil, it's enough to console you for a week.

Equally dramatic is Isidre's version of blistering baby cels as fine as spaghetti, fragrant with garlic and a hint of hot pepper. Close your eyes and search out the hint of the iodine tang of the sea. They're slightly crunchy, al dente, and served with a tiny wooden fork — better to swirl the baby cels, better not to burn the palate.

There are great renditions, too, of *espardeyes* (the rare tiny sea cucumbers) simply grilled; a soothing marriage of baby fava beans, fresh nut and cuttlefish; and daughter Nuria's extraordinary rum-marinated and sautéed apple dessert.

Closed Sundays, holidays and August. A la carte, 4,450 to 5,500 pesetas (\$37 to \$45), including service but not wine.

Viridiana, named after Luis Buñuel's 1961 film, is as one would expect, a place of passion and controversy. If you're in the mood for explosive, sometimes wild, but generally well-executed fare, then head straight to this popular Madrid restaurant run by Abraham Garcia, a self-educated chef who also serves as a local film expert and critic.

Dining here is a bit like getting on a roller coaster and just letting the car rip, but what a ride! Often, it takes just that margin of zaniness for a chef to come up with such mercurial combinations as foie gras preserved with the powerfully outy Pedro Ximenez sherry, served on a slice of brioche and imbricated with more dark, syrupy sherry, or toast topped with sorrel cream, green tomatoes and a dust of anacharis — one cured in vinegar, the other

in salt. Delicious, both, and equally inventive.

Chef Garcia turns classic, with a dashing Andalusian combination of thinly sliced oranges, red onions, salt cod, oil and black olives; and then times the palate with ooy douglouts of sweet sea bass set on a cabbage leaf and adeptly cooked in a young cabernet wine sauce. The wine list is extensive and expertly conceived, covering every oook of the wine-making world.

Closed Sunday, holidays and August. A la carte, 3,550 to 5,250 pesetas, including service but not wine.

Theme restaurants generally end up looking like little more than a theme without a motive. But El Olivo — devoted to chef-oliver Jean-Pierre Vandel's passion for olive oil — uses the golden liquid as a serious foundation. There's a rolling cart offering more than 70 Mediterranean olive oils and a bar stocked with more than 100 varieties of sherry.

Like the cuisine of Abraham Garcia, I found Vandel's food exciting, stimulating, and wildly creative. (His passions took him through 32 different tones of green, to get the right one for painting his restaurant.)

The best of many dishes sampled was his quartet of salt cod, which includes a smooth brandade; a version in which the fish was shredded and pan-fried with garlic; another bathed in a vibrant red sauce.

He grills monkfish simply, a la plancha, and serves it with a rich black-olive sauce; creates a lively lobster salad set on a bed of warm pasta tossed with tarragon and chervil in a zesty vinaigrette; and scrambles eggs with bits of blood sausage, topped with just-fried shoestring potatoes.

Don't miss his rich and ethereally textured chocolate *marquesa*, a blend of dark chocolate, cream, egg whites and sugar.

Closed Sunday, Monday and August. Menu at 3,750 pesetas. A la carte, 4,450 to 5,300 pesetas, including service but not wine.

INTERVENTION:

The United States and the Mexican Revolution 1913-1917

By John S. D. Eisenhower. 393 pages. \$27.50. Norton.

Reviewed by Robert E. Quirk

SINCE his retirement as a brigadier general, John Eisenhower has successfully launched a new career as a historian, focusing on U.S. military operations. He brings to each work a thorough

comprehension of overall strategy and tactics.

In an earlier book, "So Far From God," he dealt with the first American military intrusion into Mexico during the 1840s. The 19th-century Americans, depreciating their southern neighbors as an inferior people of mixed blood, justified their hostile actions by proclaiming a Manifest Destiny to expand into their lands. Subsequently, American troops were used on a number of occasions in other Latin-American countries — Haiti, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua. As Eisenhower shows in his latest volume, Woodrow Wilson dispatched

troops to more countries in the hemisphere than any other American chief executive. The former head of Princeton University vowed that he would teach the Latin Americans a lesson in democracy. Two of these operations are the subject of this book.

Woodrow Wilson and Victoriano Huerta had come to the presidencies of their respective countries almost simultaneously. While the American had been freely elected, however, the Mexican general had seized power after the constitutional president, Francisco Madero, was murdered. Wilson never forgot the difference. On March 11,

1913, after only a week in office, he issued a "Declaration of Policy in regard to Latin America."

Cooperation was possible, he said, only "when supported at every turn by the orderly process of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force." He called upon Huerta to step aside when elections were scheduled later in the year. Huerta refused. He had wide backing among the propertied classes, and most of the state governors supported him.

But not Venustiano Carranza in Coahuila. Styling himself "First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army," he launched a revolt against the "usurper." His movement was joined by Alvaro Obregón in Sonora and Francisco (Pancho) Villa in the state of Chihuahua.

As the Constitutionalists consolidated their hold on the north of the country, Huerta's forces continued to occupy the ports of Tampico, through which oil exports passed, and Veracruz, the chief export point for European arms and ammunition shipments. Carranza, intent on weakening Huerta, used the pretext of a trivial incident in Tampico — the arrest of a few American seamen — to order the occupation of Veracruz. Within weeks Huerta had left the country, and forces loyal to Carranza occupied Mexico City. By then Villa had withdrawn his support for Carranza, and the two factions were at war. Defeated twice, Villa retreated into the hills of Chihuahua. Though the Wilson administration had earlier favored the Villistas, the State Department, on Oct. 19, 1915, announced the de-

facto recognition of the Carranza government in Mexico City. During the conflict Mexican rebels had made a number of raids into U.S. territory, and even after the defeat of Villa, Carranza failed to exert control in the north of the country. American lives had been lost and property destroyed. By the end of 1915 the administration in Washington had come under increasing pressure to "do something" about the violence caused by "bandits" — as Eisenhower puts it — along the border.

On March 9, 1916, a band of nearly 500 Villistas attacked the small town of Columbus, New Mexico, ostensibly to capture arms and supplies. (Friedrich Katz has suggested that the German imperial government was perhaps implicated in the "invasion," hoping to involve the United States in a war against Mexico.) In any event, Wilson felt he had no choice. He authorized army forces under the command of John J. Pershing to cross into Mexico to pursue the invaders. Eisenhower

conducts the reader through the details of the operation. In the end, the original objective had been forgotten. The Americans never did find Villa. And when Pershing requested permission to move on the city of Chihuahua, Washington refused. The attention of the administration had turned to Europe, and the course of the war there. Eisenhower feels, however, that the experience of organizing a campaign in Mexico and of training his troops stood Pershing in good stead when he commanded a much larger force in Europe.

Eisenhower has made good use of previous publications and of archival materials, but his viewpoint remains one-sided and North American; he slights the Mexican aspects of the interventions. There may be a reason for this: There are only two Spanish-language books listed in his extensive bibliography.

Robert E. Quirk, professor emeritus of history at Indiana University, wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

BARRY RIGAL'S first book "Improve Your Bridge Judgment," available from Barclay Bridge Supplies, will be of value to all players out of the beginner stage.

The reader is shown one hand, and invited to make the required decisions in bidding and play. On the diagrammed deal the South makes a bid, and the author makes a good case for a response of one no-trump. After a reverse of two diamonds, the two-spade bid shows maximum values for the earlier one no-trump bid and strength to spades.

North should perhaps bid three no-trump at this point, saving a round of bidding. The opening lead against three no-trump is the heart two, and South appears to have a guess. This is true in the abstract,

but in the context, as Rigal points out, the king is the right play. If South can win the first trick, he is well on the way to nine tricks. But if he plays the jack and loses to the ace, a shift to spades will hurt him. With this spade layout, the shift would be to the spade king.

When the heart king wins, South must decide how to tackle clubs. If he needed five tricks from the suit he would play the ace and king in the hope of collecting a doubleton queen. But here he is willing to lose one club trick, since it is wildly unlikely that the defenders can take four heart tricks.

So the winning play at the second trick is to cash the club ace and lead a low club from dummy. This guards against the chance that West has a singleton club. For South's jack is then sure to score. South makes four club tricks, three

diamond tricks and a trick in each major suit. West is left to regret that he did not select a spade lead.

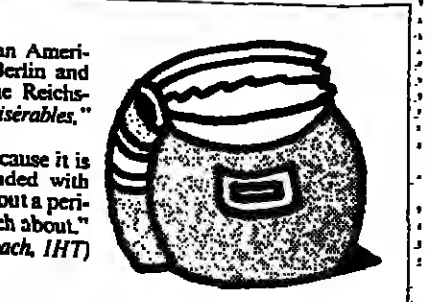
NORTH (D)
♠ 9 7
♥ K J
♦ A 10 4
♣ A K 7 5 3
WEST
♠ K 8 5
♥ A 10 5 2
♦ J 8 5 3
♣ 8
EAST
♠ Q 10 7 4
♥ Q 8 4
♦ Q 6
♣ Q 10 9 8
SOUTH
♠ A J 3
♥ 8 7 6 5
♦ K 7 2
♣ J 6 3

Neither side is vulnerable. The bidding:
North: 1♣, 2♦, 3♣, 3NT.
East: Pass, Pass, Pass, Pass.
South: 1♦, 2♥, 3♦, 3NT.
West leads the heart two.

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Michael S. Cullen, an American historian living in Berlin and author of "Der Deutsche Reichstag," is reading "Les Misérables," by Victor Hugo.

"I am enjoying this because it is full of history. It is loaded with historical information about a period I don't know very much about." (Michael Kallenbach, IHT)



مكتبة النجف

CAPITAL MARKETS

Bundesbank Rules Out Ecu-Bond Issues For Now

By Randolph Walerius
Knight-Ridder

DUESSELDORF — Germany would risk damaging the Deutsche mark and its own credit standing if it issued bonds denominated in the European Currency Unit since there was a risk that the Ecu's value could decline, Hans Tietmeyer, president of the Bundesbank, said Saturday. He complained that advocates of the Ecu rarely mention the risk of devaluation, especially against a strong currency. The Ecu, which is a basket of European currencies, could still be devalued against the mark if a currency in the basket is devalued, he said.

"I don't consider it proper when proponents of the Ecu don't make this clear," he said in a weekend speech to the Forum Club Deutschland. Proponents of the Ecu as a single European currency have suggested that European governments promote it, including through the issue of bonds denominated in Ecus.

Nothing that Germany has never issued bonds in a foreign currency, Mr. Tietmeyer said that doing so in the Ecu "would discriminate against the mark and endanger the credit standing of the issuer."

"This would hardly be justifiable to the German taxpayer," Mr. Tietmeyer said he could imagine the situation changing "at the moment when the Ecu has the same status as the mark, when a devaluation is clearly ruled out."

Mr. Tietmeyer also said that the Bundesbank would continue to use the M-3 money supply as a key part of its monetary policy despite the soaring growth rate recorded for M-3 in January.

Germany's M-3 money supply grew an annualized seasonally adjusted rate of 21.2 percent in January from the fourth quarter of 1993, far above the Bundesbank's target corridor of 4 percent to 6 percent for the year. The surge has prompted some observers to suggest that the Bundesbank give up using M-3 as a monetary policy tool altogether.

"Naturally, the M-3 development worries us, even though one month's annualized rate shouldn't be wrongly assessed," said Mr. Tietmeyer.

"We don't want to and won't give up the orientation on money supply," he said, adding that the approach should not be criticized on the basis of "one month's figure, especially when unusual factors strongly distort it."

The Bundesbank official said recent international rises in long-term interest rates were not the result of Germany's M-3 money supply growth in January, but of the trade conflict between Japan and the United States. "Anyway, central banks can only indirectly influence capital market rates: through inflation expectations," he said.

Carl Gewirtz is in ill.

A Fear That the Jobless Will Become the Lawless

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — A dark vision haunts some of Western Europe's most thoughtful decision makers as they ponder the worsening jobs crisis that will be the focus of a Group of Seven meeting in Detroit on Monday and Tuesday.

What these decision makers fear is the specter of Europe's long-term unemployed — especially the jobless young — being shut out of the margins of civilized society, causing many to turn to crime or drugs, or racism and the extreme political fringe.

"Impoverishment, growing violence, social and political instability — that could all happen," says Konrad Seitz, Germany's ambassador to Rome and a specialist in industrial policy.

The jobless, says Stephen Pursey, head of economic and social policy at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels, begin to lose faith in the institutions that surround them.

"They start to question whether it's worth voting in elections," he says. "They start looking for someone to blame, and turn to politicians with messianic solutions, often those who blame foreigners. We've been this way before in Europe, 50 years ago. Nobody wants to go back there again."

Until now, Europeans assured themselves that inner-city violence was a peculiarly American phenomenon. Now their fear of

social unrest is justified by both demographic and economic reality. Nearly half of the European Union's unemployed have been without jobs for more than a year, and by the end of 1994 young people will represent more than a quarter of the 20 million jobless. By contrast, in the United States the long-term unemployed represent little more than 6 percent of those without jobs.

Sociologists have long contended there is a link between joblessness and urban crime, pointing to anecdotal evidence from cities as varied as Glasgow, Palermo, and Los Angeles. There are few better examples

than Detroit, the city that will host this week's G-7 jobs conference. Last Friday Robert Reich, the U.S. secretary of labor, noted that one third of the adults in Detroit are unemployed; what he did not say was that the city also has one of the highest crime rates in America.

In Europe, many of those interviewed in recent weeks forecast a rise in urban violence by the year 2000, linking it specifically to the problem of high levels of long-term unemployment among the young. In

See JOBS, Page 14

Austerity Pays Off, Africa Study Says

By Thomas L. Friedman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The World Bank, in its most comprehensive study ever of African economies, has concluded that those countries that carried out rigorous austerity measures and economic reforms in the 1980s improved their growth while those that did not continued to deteriorate.

The study considered 29 sub-Saharan African economies during two periods: 1981 to 1986, when most African countries were in economic crisis — with high inflation, falling growth rates and overvalued exchange rates — and 1987 to 1991, when all of them introduced economic reforms along lines prescribed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The countries that made the biggest economic changes, such as Ghana, saw their growth rates and consumption rise and more goods to buy in the marketplace, the study found. Those that made the fewest changes, such as the Ivory Coast and Cameroon, were mired in recession and saw increases of as much as 50 percent in the number of their people living in poverty.

Edward V.K. Jaycox, the World Bank's vice president for Africa, said the report shows "that good

policies work, that people who follow them get rewarded, and that if you stick to it, you are going to end up being the heroes of your nations."

Nevertheless, the report is already drawing fire from some critics in Africa and elsewhere, who contend that the report only considers overall economic performance, while ignoring the pain that such reforms inflict on middle and lower classes, whose bread may no longer be subsidized and who may be charged for services, such as health care, that formerly were free.

World Bank officials counter that they appreciate the courage it takes for African leaders to carry out their programs. They know it is politically dangerous. But they insist that economic reform is the only long-term solution for African countries and that the longer they wait, the tougher will be the pain.

What motivated the World Bank study, say its author-economists, Christine W. Jones and Miguel A. Kiguel, was the long-established tendency to lump all the sub-Saharan African countries together and pronounce all of them economic disasters of one form or another because collectively they were so

See AFRICA, Page 11

Perceiving Equals Believing On Wall Street, the Rumors Usually Outrun the Facts

By Brett D. Fromson
Washington Post Service

NEW YORK — On Wall Street, the trader's maxim is: "Don't bore me with the facts, just give me the rumors."

As absurd as it may seem to the rest of the world, professional investors and speculators care most about perceptions, not facts.

"Perceptions can be everything," Rick Crosby, chief trader at Perry Partners, a New York arbitrage firm, said. "Especially in the short run."

Last week, traders sold stocks, bonds and the dollar in large part because of unsubstantiated stories about the Whitewater affair. For the past month and a half, the markets have fallen because traders have been fearing higher inflation — even though there is no compelling evidence that inflation is in fact picking up.

In a way, Wall Street is like a theater in which someone is constantly yelling "Fire," and people always are ready to bolt for the exit.

Professional traders are wired together by a huge web of computers and phone lines that spread rumors faster than you can say "information superhighway," Mr. Crosby gets bombarded by all sorts of fact and fiction coming in from seven computer terminals, a dozen telephone lines and a television set mounted on the wall.

Investors know that anything that crosses their computer screens also is crossing thousands of others. So they trade on the news if only because they think others will. No one wants to be the last one to move if a rumor turns out to be true.

"For most investors, perceptions are more important than reality," said Paul Leff, one of Mr. Crosby's bosses at Perry Partners.

Dee Dee Myers, the White House spokeswoman, took the media to task last week for reporting "wild rumors" on the Whitewater case.

She cited in particular the reporting of rumors that Vincent W. Foster Jr., then deputy White House counsel, had committed suicide in a private apartment in Virginia last July rather than in the Potomac riverbank park where his body was found.

"How is it acceptable that completely unsubstantiated rumors become the fodder for legitimate news organizations?" Ms. Myers asked. "It's something that needs to be examined. It's a problem."

Grumman Corp., the defense contractor, is an example of a stock moving up on shifting perceptions. At 4:30 P.M. Thursday, after the markets had closed, Northrop Corp. announced it had made a rival bid to compete with Martin Marietta Corp.'s offer to buy Grumman. Northrop bid \$60 a share, \$5 more than Martin Marietta's \$55 a share.

Without knowing anything more, traders instantly bid up Grumman shares in the third market, an unofficial computer-based exchange used by professional traders to make bets when the major exchanges are closed. Grumman went from \$54.875, where it had closed at the end of regular trading, to \$62.50 a share in the third market.

Why \$62.50 when Northrop's bid was only \$60? Because traders anticipated a bidding war for Grumman. The story making the rounds was that Northrop would pay any price to have Grumman.

When Mr. Crosby arrived for work Friday morning he found that Grumman stock had risen about \$1 overnight — again with no new facts having been made public.

Neither company said anything all day. But Grumman shares rose \$3 to close Friday at \$64.75.

Beijing Moves on Inflation

Curbs Sanctioned On 20 Key Items

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China instituted measures Sunday to limit price increases on 20 widely used commodities and services, while the architect of its economic-reform program denied his changes were causing inflation.

The Economic Daily published a state council order that gave price departments the right, with the approval of local governments, to impose temporary ceilings on prices and undertake "appropriate interference" in the market for widely used consumer goods.

The 20 items include wheat flour, rice, edible vegetable oil, pork, milk, eggs, sugar, soy sauce, detergent, domestic coal and natural gas, rent, water, public transport and fees for schools and hospitals.

The order also stipulated that price departments should punish enterprises and traders who broke price regulations.

Separately, Zhu Rongji, the deputy prime minister who is widely considered China's economic czar, lashed out at critics of China's economic reforms. He labeled their assertion that reforms are fueling inflation as a "gross misunderstanding," the Xinhua news agency said Sunday.

"Some people attribute the current price rises to reform measures introduced this year," Xinhua quoted Mr. Zhu as saying. "This is a gross misunderstanding."

Mr. Zhu said the inflationary trend had begun two months before the reforms were introduced at the beginning of the year.

He said that China's economic performance in the first two months of 1994 had been "unexpectedly good." He cited a 30 percent jump in government revenue over the same period last year, effective control of the money supply, a stable foreign exchange rate and sufficient supplies of goods.

In a commentary, the Economic Daily said the price order did not mean an end to price reform and would respect the proper authority of companies and local governments. (AFP, Reuters)

Swedish Connection: Russia's Back Door to IMF?

By Rich Miller
Reuters

WASHINGTON — Michel Camdessus, chief of the International Monetary Fund, held a mysterious meeting on Russia with a Swedish businessman last week that has raised questions about relations between Moscow and the IMF and their ability to strike an important loan deal, monetary sources said.

The meeting with Peter Castenfeldt was kept secret from Russia's own representatives at the IMF, raising speculation that Moscow was divided over how to institute economic reform.

It also plunged the IMF managing director into the Byzantine Russian political world of uncertainty and shifting alliances.

Mr. Castenfeldt, who heads the London-based Archipelago Enterprises, was described by sources as a well-connected and wealthy private investor who has had contacts with everyone from First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg N. Soskovets to former Vice President Alexander V. Rutskoi.

Mr. Castenfeldt acknowledged in an interview that he had met Mr. Soskovets. But he vigorously denied talk among international

monetary sources in Washington who knew of the meeting that he once acted as an adviser for, or was associated with, Mr. Rutskoi, one of the leaders of last October's armed uprising against Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin.

The half-hour meeting between Mr. Camdessus and Mr. Castenfeldt took place March 2, just as an IMF team was preparing to return to Russia for a final round of negotiations on a \$1.5 billion loan for the country.

It triggered speculation that Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin of Russia and Mr. Soskovets were trying to open a new negotiating channel, bypassing the formal talks between Russia and the IMF.

Those being led by acting Finance Minister Sergei Dubinin, who is seen in the West as being one of the few bona fide reformers in the Russian government.

An IMF spokesman said Mr. Castenfeldt insisted the meeting was not an attempt at "back-door" negotiations between the IMF and Russia. But they provided widely different descriptions of the purpose of the talks.

Mr. Castenfeldt said he did not meet Mr. Camdessus in any official capacity, adding that he has known the IMF managing direc-

tor for many years. He said he did not request the meeting, which evolved from their mutual contacts.

But an IMF spokesman said Mr. Castenfeldt approached the IMF "clearly with the authority" of Mr. Chernomyrdin and Mr. Soskovets to pass on a message regarding Mr. Camdessus' long-planned visit to Moscow. That visit is now expected to occur in the second half of March, a source said.

The reputations of Mr. Camdessus and Mr. Chernomyrdin are on the line since the talks between the IMF negotiating team and Mr. Dubinin resumed last week in Moscow.

The United States has criticized Mr. Camdessus for not doing enough to promote reform in Russia after the IMF was given a leading role in helping Moscow transform its economy from communism to capitalism.

Mr. Chernomyrdin's commitment to change has been questioned following the departure in January of key reformers from the Russian government. They have been replaced by men like Mr. Soskovets who are seen by reformers as being more sympathetic to the plight of old-Soviet-style industry.

East Europeans Taking Off

By Henry Copeland
Special to the Herald Tribune

BUDAPEST — Flyaway Travel got its start three years ago as a two-person agency arranging charter flights from Warsaw to Seoul. Passengers used the charters to stock up on cheap goods which they brought home and sold.

These days, Flyaway, Poland's largest private travel agency, focuses on luxury vacations and employs 44 staffers in six offices. "The Mediterranean is very popular," said Robert Grzybowski, one of Flyaway's owners. "This summer we sent 2000 people on packages to the Cyprus, the Greek Islands."

Mr. Grzybowski is busy, but he is not alone. Across Eastern Europe, an unprecedented number of tourists are booking vacations in exotic locales — places that were politically unimaginable before 1989, and economically unreachable immediately afterwards.

Travel is booming because the region's burgeoning private sector is boosting incomes, even as travel prices are being driven lower by a proliferation of private agencies and tour operators.

"Government statistics indicate that people are barely surviving, but travel does not show this," said Peter Hoka, managing director of Chemol Travel in Budapest.

Indeed, by official tally, the Hungarian economy has shrunk by nearly 20 percent over the last three years, but the country's board of tourism says Hungarians made 573,000 flights abroad in the first 11 months of 1993, up from only 392,000 in all of 1991.

At least a dozen travel agencies and airlines flank Vörösmarty Square at Budapest's center. On one corner, Chemol-Travel's front window is plastered with promotional stickers that translate roughly as "Malta on Target" and "Bounty in Israel."

The company sent 9,000 Hungarians abroad on packages in 1993, up from 3,500 the previous year. Israel sells well; more than 1,000 Chemol clients vacationed at a Red Sea resort in the last four months of 1993, said Mr. Hoka. "A lot of people go for the \$1,000 (one-week) package that includes stay at a four-star hotel and half board," he says.

This, as Mr. Hoka noted, is a significant multiple of the average Hungarian's monthly after tax pay of \$200.

"Almost all of our customers come from the private sector, not the state enterprises," he said. If, under communism, customers arranged their

vacations months in advance, they now book just days before a tour leaves. This is not a reflection of caprice, but the uncertainties of an entrepreneurial life, Mr. Hoka speculated.

Although the free market has generated new clients for Eastern Europe's travel agents and tour operators, it has also cut into their margins. Chemol's revenues have tripled in the last two years, but its profit margin has fallen from 25 percent to 5 percent, said Mr. Hoka.

Like driving a taxi — another popular starter business in the region — little training or seed capital is needed to charter a bus to Greece or set up a travel agency. Fledgling entrepreneurs have flocked to the travel industry.

In Hungary, the number of travel agencies accredited by the Geneva-based International Air Transport Association is up four times from its level January 1990. In Poland, the number of IATA-accredited agencies has doubled, and in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, their numbers are up 22 percent during the same period.

Even Hungary's national airline, Malev, has been rattled by the fierce new environment. Although total air traffic to or from Budapest swelled by 20 percent from 1992 to 1993, Malev's share fell by 4 percent.

In December, battling to keep frequent flyers from defecting to competitors like KLM and Delta, Malev cut the number of flights needed to earn a free ticket by 40 percent. The airline also installed a computer to track frequent flyers, even tallying their newspaper preferences.

"It's a buyer's market," said Robert Toth, manager of Tradesco Tours in Budapest. He noted that, in real terms, prices have halved on many flights and tours.

In the package tour market, Tradesco has done its share of undercutting the competition. In 1991, Tradesco halved the price charged by Ibusz, Hungary's biggest state-owned travel company, for tours to the United States. Tradesco's traffic to the United States grew from 2,500 passengers in 1992 to 4,000 last year, and Mr. Toth projects 6500 in 1994.

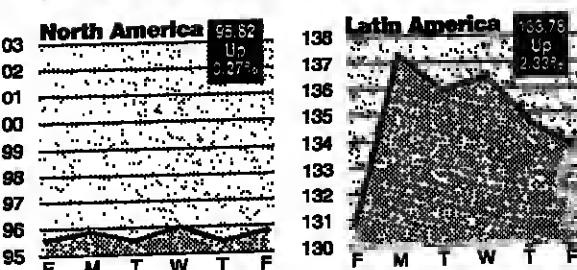
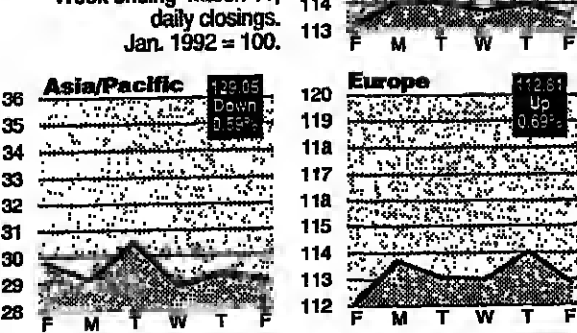
To sustain such growth, Tradesco has held prices on its basic 9-day New York package to 69,000 forints (\$690) since the beginning of 1993, even as consumer prices rose 23 percent, and devaluation cut 15 percent off the company's margin. "I'm a victim of my success," Mr. Toth says. "Now everybody is trying to undercut me."

Articles in this series appear every other Monday.

THE TRIB INDEX

International Herald Tribune
World Stock Index, composed
of 200 internationally investable
stocks from 25 countries,
compiled by Bloomberg
Business News.

Week ending March 11,
daily closings.
Jan. 1992 = 100.



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and other major financial centers. The index is composed of the 20 top issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the ten top stocks are tracked.

© International Herald Tribune

CURRENCY RATES

Cross Rates										March 11	
	\$	DM	FF	Yen	£	S.F.	Yen	CS	Peru		
Amsterdam	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Bremen	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Frankfurt	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
London (a)	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Madrid	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Paris	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Porto	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Tokyo	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
Zurich	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
1 ECU	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		
1 SDR	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368		

Closes in Amsterdam, London, New York, Toronto and Zurich. Figures in other centers are available.

a: To buy one pound: To buy one dollar: Units of 100; N.A.: not quoted; N.A.: not available.

Other Dollar Values									
	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$
Argentine peso	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Australian dollar	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
British pound	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Canadian dollar	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Chinese yuan	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Czech koruna	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Deutsche mark	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
French franc	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Italian lira	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Japanese yen	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
South African rand	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Swiss franc	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368

Forward Rates									
	30-day	60-day	90-day	120-day	150-day	180-day	210-day	240-day	270-day
Germany	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
France	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Japan	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
UK	1.086	2.003	1.704	163.82	0.636	1.368	1.368	1.368	1.368
Canada									

New International Bond Issues

Compiled by James E. Connell

Issuer	Amount (millions)	Mat.	Coup. %	Price	Price and week	Terms
Floating Rate Notes						
Fulmar Mortgage Securities	\$115.2	2000	0.30	99.085	—	Over 3-month Libor, Noncallable, Fees 0.60% (Mortgage-backed notes with an average life of 4.21 years. Denominations \$10,000. (Morgan Stanley & Co. Int'l.)
New Zealand Dairy Board	\$150	1999	0.125	99.82	—	Over 3-month Libor, Noncallable, Fees 0.15% (Lehman Brothers Int'l.)
Sweden	\$3,000	1995	0.1875	100	—	Below 3-month Libor, Noncallable, Fees 0.09% (Credit Suisse First Boston.)
SGW Finance	\$150	1998	0.20	100	—	Over 3-month Libor, Recoupled at 99.85, Noncallable, Recoupled at par from 1996. Fees 0.325% (J.G. Warburg.)
Furukawa Electric	¥10,000	1998	0.25	100.15	—	Over 3-month Libor, Noncallable, Fees 0.25%. Denominations 10 million yen. (D&B Int'l.)
Furukawa Electric	¥10,000	1998	0.25	100.15	—	Over 3-month Libor, Recoupled at 100.05, Noncallable, Fees 0.25% (D&B Europe.)
Fixed-Coupons						
Banco Francés e Brasileiro	\$110	1995	7 1/2	100	—	Semiannually, Noncallable, Fees 0.50% (Credit Lyonnais Euro-Securities.)
Chubu Electric Power	\$250	1999	6 1/4	99.55	—	Noncallable, Fees 0.25% (Sakura Finance, S.G. Warburg.)
Inter-American Development Bank	\$150	7 1/4	2004	100.675	98.40	Recoupled at 99.00, Noncallable, Fees 2% (D&B Europe.)
Cofinoga	FF 1,000	2004	6 1/2	100.555	97.80	Noncallable, Fees 2% (Credit Commercial de France.)
DSL Finance NV	DF 250	2004	6 1/4	100.45	98.45	Recoupled at 99.70, Noncallable, Fees 1% (NBS/Strating Financial Markets.)
Abbey National Treasury Services	m.250,000	2004	9	101.30	98.875	Recoupled at 99.625, Noncallable, Fees 2% (Samuel Montagu & Co.)
Fulmar Mortgage Securities	sk 1,004	1999	7 1/4	99.567	—	Mortgage-backed notes with average life of 3.01 years. Interest paid quarterly. Fees 0.35% (Morgan Stanley & Co. Int'l.)
Chubu Electric Power	CS 500	2001	7 1/4	100.55	98.05	Recoupled at 99.00, Noncallable, Fees 1 1/2% (D&B Europe.)
Equity-Linked						
Bunka Shutter Co.	\$100	1998	1	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note carries two warrants exercisable into company's shares at an expected 25% premium. Fees 2 1/2%. Terms to be set March 16. (Nomura Int'l.)
Burns Philp Treasury Europe	\$125	2004	5	100	—	Semiannually, Noncallable, Convertible at \$40 Australian dollars per share, at 17.5% (approx.) premium. Fees 2 1/2% (Morgan Stanley Int'l.)
Cosmo Oil	\$300	1998	1	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note with two warrants exercisable into company's shares at 877 yen per share, at 25% premium. Foreign exchange rate of 106.35 yen per dollar. Fees 2 1/2%. (Nomura Int'l.)
Hitachi Zosen	\$200	1998	1 1/4	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note with two warrants exercisable into company's shares at 573 yen per share, and at 106.60 yen per dollar. Fees 2 1/2%. (Nomura Int'l.)
Toa Corp.	\$150	1998	1 1/4	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note with two warrants exercisable into company's shares at an expected 25% premium. Fees 2 1/2%. Denominations \$10,000. Terms to be set March 15. (Nikko Europe.)
Tobu Railway	\$400	1998	1 1/4	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note with two warrants exercisable into company's shares at 700 yen per share, and at 106.60 yen per dollar. Fees 2 1/2%. (Yamachi Int'l.)
Tomoku Company	\$100	1998	1	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note with two warrants exercisable into company's shares at 782.6 yen per share, and at 106.60 yen per dollar. Fees 2 1/2%. (Nikko Europe.)
Uniden Corp.	\$160	1998	1	100	—	Noncallable, Each \$10,000 note carries two warrants exercisable into company's shares at an expected 25% premium. Fees 2 1/2%. Terms to be set March 16. (Nomura Int'l.)
British Land Co.	£150	perpet	6	100	—	Undated, subordinated, convertible bonds callable at par from 2008. Acceleration clause beginning in 2001. Issuer may force investors to exchange the bonds into 6% preference shares with the same conversion terms. Convertible at £5.10 per share. (Swiss Bank Corp.)

Whitewater Spills Over Into Credit Markets

NEW YORK — The release of key consumer and producer price indexes next week normally would dominate a credit market obsessed with inflation, but the furor over the Whitewater inquiry could become a serious distraction.

The investigation into President Bill Clinton and his wife in an Arkansas land deal and its ties to a failed savings and loan made a big splash Thursday, creating doubts in some quarters about Mr. Clinton's ability to govern effectively.

One result was a one-day loss of more than 1 percent in June Treasury bond futures,

which tugged bond prices to a nine-month low and fueled sharp losses in U.S. equities and the dollar. "Nobody expected this Whitewater thing to get blown up as it has," said Jim Park, analyst at Lehman Brothers Global Markets in Boston.

The slide of the dollar suggested European

U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

traders were more affected by the Whitewater factor than their U.S. counterparts.

"Is there a crisis of confidence here or not?" said Sam Kahan, chief economist of

about Whitewater could spark a sell-off in dollar-denominated securities. "The truth is there isn't. When the market is down, it looks for an excuse to keep selling."

Analysts said the U.S. producer price and consumer price indexes for February, scheduled for release next week, could provide insight on the extent of inflationary pressures, a key concern in the market after the Federal Reserve Board tried to head off inflation by raising short-term interest rates on Feb. 4.

The benchmark 30-year Treasury bond

month high that could also prove to be a key resistance point, analysts said.

"If it is a buyer's strike, it will continue" until the economic and Fed outlook becomes clearer, said Mr. Kahan. "If it's fundamental, then yields are at attractive levels."

Barring a surprise in the inflation data, "we're safe for the time being," he said, predicting yields would be bound between a range of 6.75 and 7 percent.

Last week, the yield rose as high as 6.967 percent on Thursday and closed the week at 6.905 percent, up from 6.84 percent a week earlier and 6.284 percent at the beginning of last month.

The Week Ahead: World Economic Calendar, March 14 - 19

A schedule of this week's economic and financial events, compiled for the International Herald Tribune by Bloomberg Business News

Asia-Pacific

March 14 Tokyo Feb. wholesale price index.

March 15 Tokyo Feb. consumer price index.

March 16 Tokyo Feb. industrial production and capacity utilization.

March 17 Tokyo Feb. unemployment rate.

March 18 Tokyo Feb. trade balance.

March 19 Tokyo Feb. balance of payments.

March 20 Tokyo Feb. current account.

March 21 Tokyo Feb. government securities.

March 22 Tokyo Feb. foreign reserves.

March 23 Tokyo Feb. foreign debt.

March 24 Tokyo Feb. foreign assets.

March 25 Tokyo Feb. foreign liabilities.

March 26 Tokyo Feb. foreign equity.

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NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday, March 11.

(Continued)

Stocks	Div	Yld	100s	High	Low	Chg	Chg
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00
Amgen	1.00	4.00	125.00	125.00	125.00	0.00	0.00

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MARCH 14, 1994

Close of trading Friday, March 11

JOBS: Concern That Today's Jobless Young Will Be Tomorrow's Lawless

Continued from Page 9

France, as of 1992, 23.1 percent of the unemployed were aged 18 to 25; in Britain the share was 29.6 percent; in Italy the proportion was more than 47 percent.

"We are very worried," confided a French official who did not wish to be named. "If you look at the figures you will find that in our country 60 percent of the last 300,000 people who registered for unemployment were the young."

Bryan Gould, a respected Labor Party member of the British Parliament, says, "Europe's policymakers are taking very severe risks." He says he is so discouraged by what he terms the failure of economic policy that he is leaving politics.

Mr. Gould predicts "a permanent high level of unemployment" in Europe and says he would be very surprised if the level, now more than 11 percent in the European Union, were to decline much below 10 percent by the turn of the century. He contends that the long-term unemployed in Europe will become increasingly alienated, both socially and politically.

"This is the classic seedbed for extremism and racism," he says, "and that is what happened in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, when policymakers averted their glance from the social damage."

This nervousness about the ranks of the long-term unemployed is by no means the exclusive domain of those who are politically left of center. "I see now that governments are speaking about the unraveling of the social fabric," says Jean-Claude Paye, secretary general of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. "The governments are rightly alarmed."

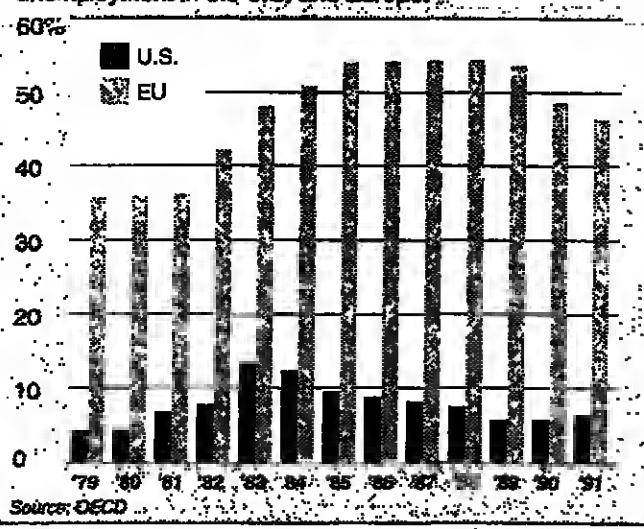
A U.S. diplomat posted in Europe said, "Many European politicians need a wake-up call or they will find their societies in big trouble. Even those who recognize the problem of long-term unemployment seem unwilling to act."

Ursula Engelken-Keller, deputy chairman of Germany's Trade Union Council, says it may only be later this decade that the alarm bells will finally ring. "If measures are not taken we are going to see a situation in parts of Europe that resembles the pattern of homelessness and crime in Manhattan," she says. "The rich will have expensive and well-guarded apartments and the unemployed will have a struggle to even have a home."

Many of those interviewed said the only chance for Europe is to try and generate service-sector jobs to replace those lost by workers in manufacturing industry. Yet all of the political, business and union leaders who were consulted acknowledged that European regulations remain resistant to creating service industry jobs. They also stressed the key differences in the shaping of long-term unemployment in the U.S. and Europe.

Long-Term Unemployment

Long-term unemployment as a percentage of total unemployment in the U.S. and Europe.



The European Union has nearly eight times more long-term unemployed partly because rules on hiring and firing are so much tighter that they act as a disincentive for companies to take on workers as rapidly as their U.S. counterparts.

The more compressed and higher wage scale in Europe, together with more costly employer contributions, also mean that unskilled or semi-skilled workers find it hard to get new jobs quickly. Cultural barriers are another factor that make Europe's a less-mobile workforce.

The availability and duration of more generous European unemployment benefits, and then welfare payments, also means that benefits which were initially designed as a form of insurance against income loss between jobs now are being used as instruments for long-term income support.

Unemployment insurance benefits in the United States generally expire after six months and represent an average of 50 percent of previous earnings. In Germany, for example, the duration can be up to 35 months and the coverage up to 63 percent of prior wages.

The specialists say there are constructive steps which can be taken. The position of the European Round Table of Industrialists is not far away from the recent European Commission White Paper on employment, which suggests stimulating private sector investment in infrastructure projects by way of regulatory relief.

Policymakers agree that as Europe's population ages, new jobs may be created in the nursing and health-care sector. Environmental services and advanced transport systems could also be net job generators later in the 1990s.

Yet EU officials in Brussels complain the White Paper is being ig-

nored by most European Union governments, while growing new sectors will require newly trained workers and will not provide enough work for the bedrock population of those unemployed—who could still represent close to 10 percent of the workforce by the year 2000.

Many in Europe believe the solution lies in reduced working weeks, work-sharing or part-time, solutions that may serve companies with over-capacity such as Volkswagen AG, but which ultimately only lead to a lower wage apportionment of existing work.

Mr. Reich is keen for the world's labor markets to combine the best of Europe's ability to train workers

and America's mobile jobs culture. But critics consider that to be a worthy ideal almost impossible to put into practice.

In Detroit this week the U.S. delegation will repeat its call for lower interest rates in Germany and France as a way of stimulating growth. But economic growth is not enough to generate many new jobs, and it is not the answer when Europe's crisis is also a structural one.

Kenneth Clarke, British chancellor of the exchequer, will trumpet Britain's relative success in cutting red tape and deregulating the labor market. But Continental Europe's politicians, facing numerous elections over the next two years, are afraid to experiment with anything radical, and that includes tampering with workers' rights or the costly welfare state.

What is certain is that necessary private-sector industrial restructuring will go forward, bringing with it record levels of unemployment in the European Union over the next 12 months. Privatization is also moving ahead, and if the management of privatized companies are efficient this can only spell layoffs.

"There is no magic bullet," Mr. Reich said last week, already seeking to play down expectations from the G-7 meeting. Officials from the French, German, Italian, and British delegations to Detroit have done the same, saying they are going to Detroit "to listen."

When it comes to Europe's jobs crisis, therefore, the reality is that short-term politics are acting as a brake on dramatic action. Europe's leaders admit this much: Things will have to get worse before bold but truly effective steps are taken to make them better.

It's Worse Than It Looks in Germany

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — With more than 4 million unemployed in all of Germany there are plenty of people thinking about the jobs crisis. Chancellor Helmut Kohl is certainly among those giving the subject ample thought — his own job, at stake in this October's general election, may depend on it.

Next month Germany will have a handy new guide to the subject from a member of the government's Council of Economic Advisers. Horst Siebert, president of the Kiel Institute of World Economics, will publish a book on German unemployment that begins by estimating the real level of joblessness at 6 million, a full one-third higher than official figures indicate.

Mr. Siebert pulls few punches in his new book, "Are the Germans Running Out of Work?" He dis-

cussed the contents in an interview. "Industrial growth," he said, would not cure Germany's jobs crisis, not even when the recovery picks up over the next couple of years. "The other illusion is the idea of a greater role for job-creation programs."

The main message of the book is that a completely new public policy orientation is needed in Bonn, starting with acceptance that most new jobs will not be high-wage jobs. Germany, says Mr. Siebert, has not succeeded in building "a productivity and wage staircase" that offers a wide range of salaries, depending on skills.

But is German society ready to accept sacrifice? For the time being Mr. Siebert is pessimistic. "Most people assume Germany is a high-wage economy and will remain that way," he answers. "We do not have much time to change. It needs to be done in the next three years. There is still lots of convincing to be done."

Christopher Gets Earful From U.S. Firms

By Elaine Sciolino
New York Times Service

BEIJING — Representatives of some of America's largest corporations told Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher on Sunday that the Clinton administration's China policy, weighted heavily on human rights, was undermining U.S. businesses trying to take the lead in China's booming economic expansion.

Mr. Christopher, already rebuffed by Chinese leaders for his insistence that they improve their country's performance on human rights if they expect renewal of preferential trade benefits in June, faced indignant executives from such American business giants as American Telephone & Telegraph Co., General Electric Corp. and Dow Jones & Company Inc.

Mr. Christopher also had a 75-minute meeting on Sunday with President Jiang Zemin, who, like other Chinese officials, dismissed Mr. Christopher's demand that Beijing improve its human rights performance as meddling in China's internal affairs.

"You cannot become a fat man with one big meal," Mr. Jiang told Mr. Christopher at one point during a lengthy monologue peppered with aphorisms and references to China's 5,000-year history, according to Winston Lord, the assistant U.S. secretary of state for East Asian Affairs.

The saying was apparently intended to convey the idea that China, with its long history and culture, would not allow a young country like the United States to dictate the pace of its internal reform.

Later in the day, John Shattuck, the assistant U.S. secretary of state for human rights, met with his Chinese counterpart, Qin Huasun, in what one senior State Department official called a more constructive meeting.

The official added that he expected the two sides to announce a small step, perhaps before Mr. Christopher leaves Beijing on Monday: the codification of an agreement,

reached in principle when Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen visited Beijing in January, to reopen Chinese prisons to American customs officers to ensure that prison factories are not making goods for export to the United States.

By taking a generally inflexible line, the Chinese were gambling that Washington would suffer too much if it revoked the trade privileges under a policy that they see as driven by anti-China lawmakers in Congress. Such a revocation would slap stiff duties on nearly all imports from China, thereby closing the U.S. market to billions of dollars of Chinese exports and damaging the Chinese economy. China would inevitably retaliate by shutting the American market.

Mr. Christopher's session with American business executives showed how unpopular the administration's policy is with a number of those who are trying to do business here.

At a breakfast meeting with the American Chamber of Commerce in Beijing, the executives characterized the American strategy as misguided. They told Mr. Christopher that China was much more open than it had been a decade ago and that the best way to improve human rights in China was to open up the country to new markets.

But Mr. Christopher rejected that analysis. He insisted that the United States was asking the Chinese to make only modest human rights improvements so that the United States could legally renew the preferential trade status when it expires in June.

He urged members of the organization of about 300 American companies "to use your influence — which I know from my conversations is considerable — to convince the Chinese it is in their interest to make at least the limited progress on human rights that we seek."

The Chamber greeted Mr. Christopher with a written statement, appealing to President Bill Clinton to renew China's trade privileges unconditionally. The statement said

that more than 167,000 high-technology American jobs would depend on it.

"We are constantly reminded by our Chinese partners that the annual fear of MFN withdrawal raises serious questions about the credibility of our commitment in China for long-term commercial relationships, relationships that the Chinese can count on," said William Warwick, chairman of AT&T China, Inc., referring to the most-favored-nation trade privileges.

He added, "The choices for American companies like mine are stark. Either we establish a major presence in the China market or we forget about being a global player, forget even about being able to defend our home market."

Mr. Christopher said after the meeting that he had not been surprised by the reaction of the business community, but that it had to have more "realism" and begin to accept that the policy of the president was fully supported by the Congress and would not change.

Mr. Christopher's first trip to China as secretary of state has been marked by a tense atmosphere amid the continuing arrest and interrogation of Chinese dissidents. At least 17 dissidents have been picked up by the police over the past two weeks, and some remain in custody.

In Shanghai on Sunday, the dissident Yang Zhou was released after being held by the police for two nights, in what he interpreted as "a silent warning." In Beijing, the activist Xin Hong was released Sunday afternoon but was told she would have to report all her activities to the police.

To avoid appearing too cozy with his hosts, Mr. Christopher canceled a largely symbolic tour of the capital and asked the Chinese not to hold a formal banquet, with the requisite toasts in his honor. He told reporters on Sunday that he had decided not to meet with Chinese dissidents in part because none of them had asked for a meeting and because such a meeting could endanger them.

JAPAN: Arm-Twisting Works in Dealing With Tokyo on Trade, U.S. Says

Continued from Page 1

veloped by Nippon Telegraph & Telephone Corp.

If the dispute had not been settled by Thursday, the U.S. trade representative, Mickey Kantor, would have named specific Japanese products targeted for punitive tariffs.

"This agreement validates our results-oriented approach," Mr. Kantor said Saturday.

Despite indignation in Tokyo over what they consider U.S. bullying, the prospect of sanctions appears to be weakening Japanese resistance to U.S. insistence on numerical commitments by Japan to open its markets. Disagreement over that issue led to the breakdown of trade talks during last month's meeting in Washington between Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa and Mr. Clinton.

"We're going to make Mickey Kantor a hero — and I hate it," a

chagrined Japanese official said last week.

The agreement belies the claims of Japanese officials that Japan is resisting *gaiatsu*, or foreign pressure, in favor of *naistu*, or internally generated pressure, in setting economic policy. Indeed, the U.S. pressure appears to have helped Mr. Hosokawa push his government's negotiators into resolving the dispute, according to U.S. officials.

The deal provides Mr. Clinton's negotiators with an example of what the United States is seeking for automobiles and auto parts, insurance and medical and telecommunications equipment — an agreement with timetables and targets.

While the accord does not guarantee Motorola a share of central Japan's huge cellular phone market, it commits Nippon Iddo Tushin and the Japanese government

to complete a fully competitive network for Motorola by December 1995.

Neither Japanese nor U.S. officials say they think Japan is about to surrender outright on the issue of numerical goals. But three major Japanese auto companies — Toyota Motor Corp., Mazda Motor Corp. and Mitsubishi Motor Corp. — announced last week that they intended to establish "voluntary goals" for purchasing U.S.-made auto parts, mostly in supply their factories in the United States.

In underscoring that these companies were not acting on their own, the international trade and industry minister, Hiroshi Kumagai, made it clear that his powerful ministry was spurring them on.

"Many business people say the United States offers the world's most open market," he said. "It would not be wise to let ourselves get shut out of that market."

To be sure, it is too early to determine whether the threat of sanctions ultimately will elicit enough concessions to satisfy the administration and Congress. Indeed, U.S. officials complain that the figures for auto parts purchases floated in the press appear to represent a sharp slowdown in growth from the goals announced when President George Bush visited Tokyo in January 1992.

Mr. Hosokawa's promise to produce a voluntary package itself indicates that the administration's hard-line stance poses little risk to underlying U.S.-Japan ties. Indeed, the catchphrase among Japanese commentators and political leaders is "the ball is in Japan's court" — meaning that while the U.S. demands may be unreasonable, Tokyo must respond with responsible and far-reaching efforts to reduce its trade surplus and lower import barriers.



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MONDAY SPORTS

Finally, Some (Unlikely) Sparkle in European Track

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
PARIS — Russia, Britain and France shone as the European Indoor Track Championships ended on Sunday.

A day earlier, Colin Jackson of Britain had completed a historic double, streaking to victory in the 60-meter hurdles after winning the 60-meter dash on Friday.

On Sunday, gold medals for the Frenchmen Christian Pliat in the men's heptathlon and Daniel Sanguma in the 200 meters injected some much needed passion into a generally lackluster championship.

Nearly all of Europe's elite athletes in the track events were absent.

After a seemingly endless succession of victories by Russian and British athletes on Sunday, the crowd finally had something to cheer when Sanguma swept to victory in the one-lap sprint and Pliat wrapped up the gold in the heptathlon after dominating the competition for two days.

Russia won nine of the 27 gold medals, while Britain captured five. Russian women won five gold medals, while their male teammates won four.

Jackson's victories accounted for two of those golds. He was never threatened in the hurdles, his specialty, winning easily Saturday in 7.41, shy of the world indoor record of 7.30 he set last week in Germany. George Boroi of Romania was second in 7.57.

Jackson set up his unprecedented double with a victory Friday night in the dash. His time of 6.49

was a meet record and just .01 off the European record of his compatriot Linford Christie.

Jackson made clear he did not want to start a sprint rivalry with his heralded teammate.

"It was a personal challenge and I just wanted to see what can happen," Jackson said. "Nobody can be compared to anyone else. It's all personal. We are just individuals and what we set out to achieve is all on our own."

Jackson said he has no intention of running the sprints outdoors, especially the 100 meters.

"No. Definitely," Jackson said. "It's too long. It would be a bit difficult."

Despite hitting the first hurdle in his first qualifying heat, Jackson equalled the 11-year-old meet re-

cord of 7.48, then obliterated it with 7.39 in the semifinals.

The final was his sixth race in 24 hours.

In the modern era of men's track, there are no parallels to Jackson's feat. The American Gail Devers has achieved doubles in the women's ranks, but no man has done so in major championships since Harrison Dillard of the United States in the early 1950s.

British men followed Jackson's successes with victories by Duane Ladego in the 400 meters, David Strang in the 1,500 meters and Daniel Grant, who pulled off a stunning success in the high jump when the gold medal look destined for Jean-Charles Giquel of France, who had twice improved his own personal best to 2.35 meters.

Grant then jumped a personal best of 2.37 meters. If Grant had failed at that height, Giquel would have won the gold.

There were a number of impressive victories by some older athletes, most notably Ekaterina Podkopaeva, 41, of Russia.

Two years ago, at the age of 39, she became the oldest-ever European indoor champion when she won the 1,500 meters in Genoa.

On Sunday, she became the first athlete over 40 to take a title when she won the 1,500 meters again, clocking 4 minutes 06.46 seconds.

Podkopaeva incurred a drug suspension in 1990, but came back to become the 1993 world indoor 1,500 champion.

"If I keep healthy, I don't know

Germans Checking Charges Of Routine Doping in East

COLOGNE — Berlin justice authorities are investigating whether sports officials in the former East Germany routinely gave athletes, including children, drugs to boost their performance.

The city's justice spokeswoman, Ute Foelster, told German radio that the inquiry was focusing on doctors who had worked for the former Communist government's Gymnastics and Sports Association. Foelster said there was suspicion that an official program of administering performance-enhancing drugs to top athletes was controlled by a special Communist Party committee.

A leading German professor, Werner Franke, said doping in the former East Germany had resulted in several deaths. Franke, a molecular biologist, told German radio that experiments with anabolic hormones had killed an unknown number of people due to liver damage. He said he had found evidence of experimentation in secret files made public after East and West Germany were reunited. The program began in 1966 and involved anabolic hormones and steroids, which increased physical performance by up to 20 percent. The files showed that drugs were also given to children.

SCOREBOARD

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	42	19	.688	—
Orlando	37	24	.606	5 1/2
Atlanta	33	27	.550	8 1/2
New Jersey	32	27	.542	9
Boston	32	27	.542	9
Philadelphia	30	41	.423	12 1/2
Washington	19	41	.317	23 1/2

CENTRAL CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	42	19	.688	—
Cleveland	36	25	.590	7 1/2
Indiana	32	27	.542	11 1/2
Charlotte	29	34	.457	14 1/2
Milwaukee	17	44	.279	26 1/2
Detroit	16	44	.264	27 1/2

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
San Antonio	44	15	.746	—
Houston	41	17	.705	1 1/2
Utah	40	20	.680	3
Denver	39	21	.650	4 1/2
Minnesota	38	22	.633	5 1/2
Dallas	33	27	.550	10 1/2

PACIFIC CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Seattle	44	18	.707	—
Phoenix	37	25	.597	7 1/2
Portland	33	29	.533	11 1/2
Oakland	33	29	.533	11 1/2
L.A. Lakers	30	32	.484	14 1/2
L.A. Clippers	28	34	.450	16 1/2
Sacramento	21	40	.344	23 1/2

PLAYOFF STANDINGS

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	19	15	.559	—
Orlando	15	19	.441	4 1/2
Atlanta	15	19	.441	4 1/2
New Jersey	15	19	.441	4 1/2
Boston	15	19	.441	4 1/2
Philadelphia	15	19	.441	4 1/2
Washington	15	19	.441	4 1/2

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Baseball

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MONDAY SPORTS

Navy at the Big Dance? March Madness Indeed

By Thomas Boswell
Washington Post Service

ANAPOLIS, Maryland — The Navy got danced to "Anchors Aweigh" at midcourt. Alex Kobner picked up Brian Walker and carried him around like a county fair prize. Everybody helped cut down the nets in Alumni Hall. After the Navy Hymn, plenty of people teared up because this has been a tough year at the Naval Academy, too full of deaths and scandals and good people feeling awful. Navy deserved this sweet hour.

The television cameras caught it all and sent it across the country. March Madness had begun. Navy —

of all teams, Navy! — was in the National Collegiate Athletic Association basketball tournament. No doubt, before this month is over, better and more improbable stories will appear to supplant the Midshipmen's 76-76 victory over Colgate in the Patriot League championship game. Then again, maybe not.

"I've been around since 1960," said Navy's coach, Don DeVoe. "If you live long enough, you'll see everything. But this beats all."

"This team truly represents the Navy. We don't have any stars. It's a bunch of hard-working, get-after-it guys," added DeVoe, whose team was 8-19 last year in his first season at Navy.

Before this season began, DeVoe, who has taken seven other schools to the NCAA tournament, decided he needed to work on the down-trodden Navy attitude about basketball. After all, since 1960, Navy has never been to the Big Dance except during the three-year heavenly dispensation period known as the David Robinson Era.

"Realistically, I didn't think we could be a championship team in two seasons," DeVoe said. "This is a dream."

One player symbolizes this Navy team: the junior T. J. Hall. Here's a kid that nobody ever thought was much good at basketball, who played only 35 minutes in his first two years at Navy, yet who had worked and battled his way up the ladder until he was Navy's high scorer. Everybody told T. J. that he wasn't quite academy material, on the court or in the classroom. But he went to the Naval Academy Preparatory School after high school and got into Navy a year later. Once there, he kept coming out for basketball, although nobody saw much reason for it.

"I had him projected as a JV player this season," DeVoe said. "I blew it. He's an incredible kid. I've never seen anybody improve that fast."

In the three games of the Patriot League Tournament, Hall scored 79 points — an almost David Robinson kind of average. After scoring 21 points against Colgate, Hall was summoned to midcourt to collect a most-valuable player trophy.

For a while, it looked like Hall was going to sink the ship, pretty much by himself. Eight times in 16 tries he missed free throws. Once, he missed all three times on one trip to the line. The idea that he was the leading scorer on an unlikely team that had a chance to crack the NCAA field seemed to be getting to his nerves. Were those really ESPN cameras in Alumni Hall, for the first time?

"Pressure, pressure," chanted the Colgate fans. DeVoe took Hall out of the game in the second half to let him recompose himself for the final minutes. "The rest did me good," Hall said.

With 4:51 to play, Hall made his last bad play. He lost the ball, Colgate scored and, for the first and only time in the game, Navy was behind, 65-64. With 1:31 to play and Navy back in the lead at 69-67, Hall finally got a shot he liked better than a free throw: an open three-point shot from the wing. He nailed it.

"You could see him pull together and get centered again," DeVoe said. "I thought he'd make another big play right away."

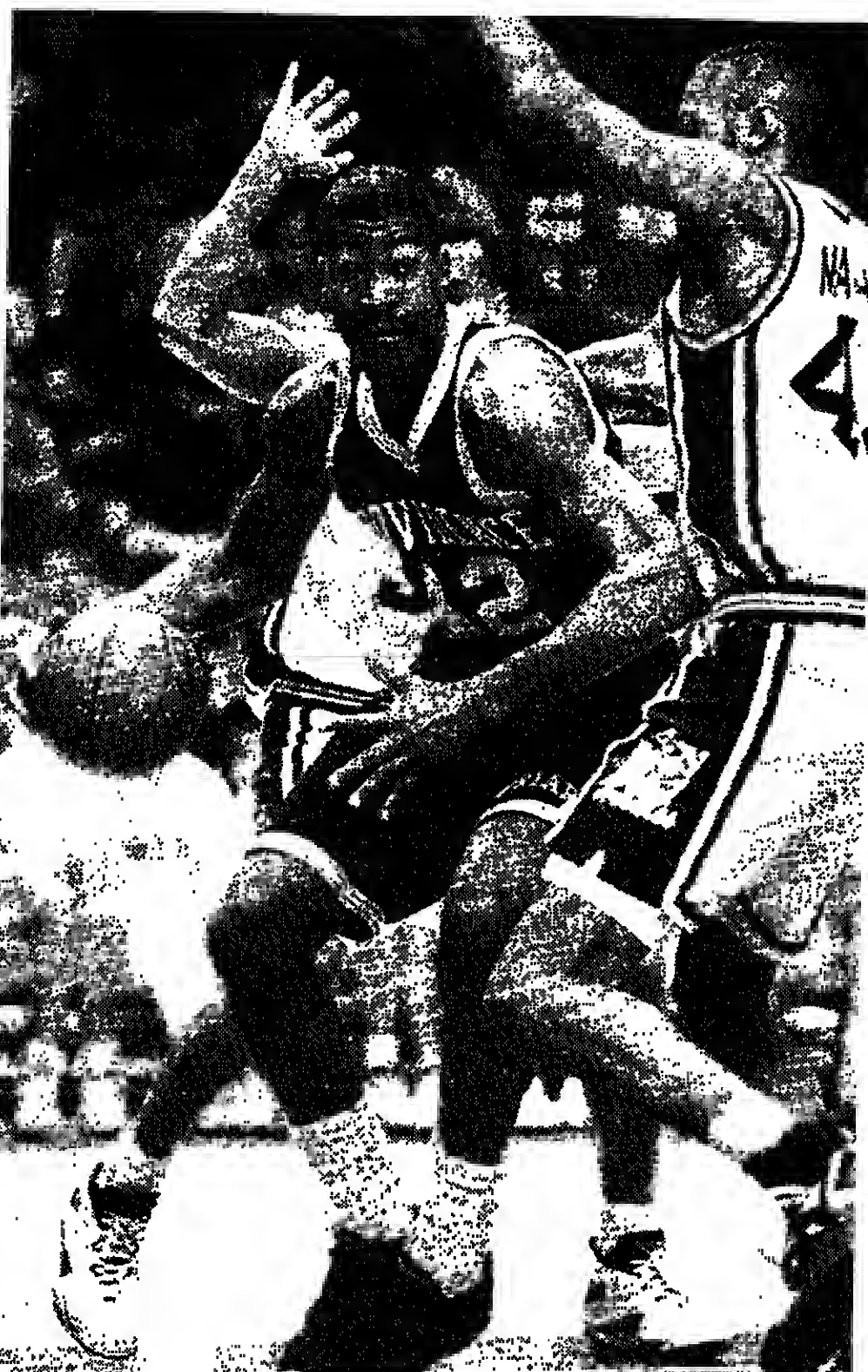
And he did. Colgate has one great player: Tucker Neale, the fifth-leading scorer in the country. But for a split second he took his eye off Hall, who cut to front of him, stole a pass, drove the length of the court and made an acrobatic layup in traffic.

That made the score 74-67 with 1:07 to play and, DeVoe said, "That's the first time I thought, 'We're going to win.'"

Vantage Point



North Carolina and Purdue Gain NCAA Berths



Providence's Dickey Simpkins driving to the basket in the Friars' upset of No. 2 UConn in New York.

No. 4 Tar Heels Triumph in Atlantic Coast And Boilermakers Clinch Big Ten Title

The Associated Press

The victory in Charlotte, North Carolina, gave Tar Heels (27-6) their 13th tournament championship and the 12th for coach Dean Smith, who on Saturday got his 800th coaching victory. The tournament championship carries an automatic berth in the National Collegiate Athletic Association tournament, and because of the weekend's rash of upsets, could put defending national champion North Carolina atop the final college basketball poll.

The Cavaliers (17-12) had hoped to use the tournament as a stepping stone to one of the major berths in the 64-team NCAA field.

North Carolina now hopes for a return trip to Charlotte in three weeks for the Final Four.

No. 14 Kentucky 73, No. 17 Florida 60: Rodrick Rhodes sparked Kentucky to its third straight and 18th overall Southeastern Conference tournament championship in Memphis Sunday with a 73-60 victory over Florida.

Rhodes has 12 of his 15 points in a 22-4 spurt in the second half that carried the No. 10 Wildcats past the Gators in a rubber match between the SEC eastern division foes.

No. 6 Purdue, 87, Illinois, 77: The Big Ten championship was Purdue's for the taking, so Glenn Robinson grabbed it and refused to let go.

Robinson, the nation's scoring leader, had a career-high 49 points Sunday as the Boilermakers beat Illinois, 87-77, in West Lafayette, Indiana, and clinched their first conference title since 1988.

Purdue (26-4, 14-4 Big Ten) finished one game ahead of Michigan, which dropped out of a first-place tie with Saturday's overtime loss to Northwestern.

The victory also snapped a six-game losing streak to Illinois (17-10, 10-8).

Robinson, averaging 30.3 points a game for the season, had nine during a two-minute flurry late in the first half and 11 straight in another run in the second half after the Illinois came within two points.

His 49 points bettered his previous career best of 42 against Wisconsin last year and were the most by a Purdue player since Rick Mount's school record 61 against Iowa in 1970.

No. 14 Louisville 69, Southern Miss. 61: To Biloxi, Mississippi, Clifford Rozier had 20 points and 17 rebounds as Louisville won the Metro Conference tournament championship and the automatic berth in the National Collegiate Athletic Association tournament.

Rozier, the two-time Metro Conference player of the year and the tournament's most valuable player, had consecutive inside baskets as Louisville opened the second half with a 13-3 run to take the lead for good.

Nebraska 77, No. 23 Oklahoma State 68: In Kansas City, Missouri, Jamar Johnson scored 19 points and led a final surge late in the second half as the Cornhuskers won the Big Eight tournament championship to gain the league's automatic bid to the NCAA tournament.

It is Nebraska's fourth straight NCAA trip under Coach Danny Nee and marked the first time Nebraska had won the Big Eight tournament after consecutive 20-victory seasons.

Nebraska (20-9) advanced to the final by beating No. 3 Missouri in the semifinals Saturday, giving the Tigers their first loss in 19 Big Eight games. It was Nebraska's second championship game in the 18 years of the league tournament.

Oklahoma State (23-9) had beaten No. 11 Kansas in the semifinals. The Huskers went on a 15-5 run late in the second half to break the game open. Melvin Brooks completed a 3-point play and then hit two free throws to put Nebraska ahead 68-61 with 2:05 left.

The Cowboys then missed shots

on two trips down the court and Johnson completed a 3-point play on a fast break for a 71-61 Huskers lead with less than two minutes to play.

In Saturday's games: No. 10 Kentucky 90, No. 1 Arkansas 78: In Memphis, Tennessee, Gmel Martinez stopped an Arkansas run with a jumper and a 3-pointer to win an SEC semifinal.

Kentucky (25-6) made a Southeastern Conference tournament record 16 3-pointers.

Providence 69, No. 2 Connecticut 67: In New York, Robert Phelps, who has struggled with his

shooting his whole career, went 10-for-11 and had 23 points as Providence advanced to its first Big East title game.

The fourth-seeded Friars (19-9) will play Georgetown, a 76-71 winner over Seton Hall in overtime.

Providence started the second half with an 8-0 run and then held on as the top-seeded Huskies (27-4) pulled within two points a number of times late, only to be thwarted by one tough shot after another by Phelps. Michael Brown made one of two free throws with 24 seconds left for the final margin.

Nebraska 98, No. 3 Missouri 91: In Kansas City, Eric Fickowski scored 24 points as Nebraska ended the longest Big Eight winning streak in 65 years.

Nebraska (19-9) outrebounded the regular season champions 54-39 and held Missouri (25-3) to 7-for-28 from 3-point range.

No. 4 North Carolina 86, Wake Forest 84: In Charlotte, North Carolina, Dean Smith captured his 800th career coaching victory in the Atlantic Coast Conference semifinals.

The Tar Heels (26-6) captured the victory when Jerry Stackhouse scored on a driving layup with 5.3 seconds remaining.

Virginia 66, No. 5 Duke 61: Virginia held Duke without a basket in a 69-minute stretch and upset the Blue Devils in the other ACC semifinal.

A 3-pointer by Harold Deane with 3:21 left gave Virginia the lead for good at 60-59. After that, All-American Grant Hill missed a 15-

footer, threw the ball away and missed a layup on three of Duke's next four possessions.

Arizona State 94, No. 7 Arizona 87: In Tempe, Arizona, Ron Riley scored 17 of his team-high 27 points in the second half to lead Arizona State to an upset in the Pacific-10.

The defeat snapped Arizona's eight-game winning streak.

Northwestern 97, No. 8 Michigan 93: In Evanston, Illinois, Patrick Baldwin made a key 3-pointer and Kip Kirkpatrick scored six points in overtime as Northwestern ensured its first winning regular season in 11 years.

No. 23 Oklahoma State 69, No. 11 Kansas 68: Bryant Reeves made four free throws in the final 2:29 and finished with 27 points, and Kansas (25-7) didn't score for the final 3 1/2 minutes.

No. 14 Louisville 76, Virginia Tech 67: Dwayne Morton scored eight points during an 11-2 second half run as the Cardinals overcame their largest halftime deficit this season.

Morton started the game-turning run with three free throws. The Cardinals, who trailed 46-32 at halftime, closed to 52-51 when he made a 3-pointer with 1:30 left.

Oregon 84, No. 15 UCLA 79: In Eugene, Oregon, Orlando Williams scored 23 points, including two 3-pointers in the final two minutes, and Zach Sellers scored the game-winning layup for the upset victory.

Washington State 94, No. 16 California 82: In Pullman, Washington, Eddie Hill scored 27 points, including 21 from 3-point range, to boost Washington State's hopes for its first NCAA tournament bid in 11 years.

No. 17 Florida 68, Alabama 52: In Memphis, Craig Brown sank five 3-pointers and finished with 17 points as Florida shut down Alabama.

No. 18 Indiana 78, Wisconsin 65: In Bloomington, Indiana, Damon Bailey and his Indiana teammates snapped a late season slump.

No. 25 Texas 87, Texas A&M 62: In Dallas, B. J. Tyler scored 35 points to lead Texas to its first Southwest Conference tournament title to the 19-year history of the event.

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Herald Tribune

Manning and Hawks Rally to Shut Down Pistons

The Associated Press

The Detroit Pistons, who haven't won three straight games since November, had the chance stolen again as the visiting Atlanta Hawks stopped the Pistons' streak at two.

Danny Manning led the Hawks to scoring, tossing in 18 of his 24 points in the second half.

NBA HIGHLIGHTS

half of Atlanta's 104-92 victory Saturday. Detroit led at halftime and early in the third quarter, but the Hawks closed the quarter with a 25-5 run to go ahead by 78-66.

Atlanta started quickly, thanks to a spectacular first quarter by Willis. The Detroit native had 12 points in the first 7:20, and finished the period with 14 points and 12 rebounds.

That gave the Hawks a 31-22 lead after

one, and they still led by nine with three minutes left in the second.

Joe Dumars led all scorers with 32 points, for his third straight game with at least 30 points.

Isiah Thomas, one day after sitting out an entire game while healthy for the first time in his career, came off the bench and had eight points and seven assists.

Nets 117, Hornets 92: Derrick Coleman scored 20 for New Jersey at home, showing up Larry Johnson in the battle of the NBA's highest-paid players.

Johnson, who returned to the Hornets' lineup Friday night after missing 31 games with a back injury, had just 8 points in 16 minutes in the first half. With Charlotte trailing 56-43 at intermission, Johnson didn't return for the second half.

Pacers 104, Bucks 97: The Pacers' Reggie

Miller scored 23 points and became only the fourth player in NBA history to record 800 3-pointers.

Miller got his 800th 3-point goal with 3:19 to play in Indianapolis, giving the Pacers a 97-85 lead.

Spurs 109, Rockets 98: San Antonio's David Robinson had 40 points and 16 rebounds, taking advantage of foul-plagued Hakeem Olajuwon.

The victory, the first for the Spurs in Houston since 1991, lifted San Antonio back into first place in the Midwest Division. The Rockets lost for the fourth time in seven games, including twice in a week to the Spurs.

Despite his foul trouble, Olajuwon had 27 points and 18 rebounds. Negele Knight had a season-high 23 points for the Spurs.

Knicks 96, Cavaliers 86: The Knicks held the opposition below 90 points for a team-

record sixth straight game, beating injury-riddled Cleveland in New York.

Patrick Ewing led the Knicks with 29 points, benefiting from the absence of Cleveland's Brad Daugherty, out for the next month with herniated disk. It was Ewing's eighth straight game with at least 20 points.

Bulls 111, Kings 94: Scottie Pippen scored 20 points and Chicago had a 15-4 run to start the fourth quarter in a victory over Sacramento at Chicago Stadium.

Toni Kukoc and Scott Williams each added 17 points for Bulls, who are 22-8 at home this season, and B.J. Armstrong scored 16.

Chicago capped its decisive fourth-quarter surge with 7:14 to go, when the Kings were called for consecutive technical fouls on Randy Brown, coach Garry St. Jean and Lionel Simmons.

Knicks 96, Cavaliers 86: The Knicks held the opposition below 90 points for a team-

Kerrigan Hits Back On Live TV

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Nancy Kerrigan, the Olympic figure skater, silver medalist, showed she was ready to laugh at both her post-Olympic media personas as host of the NBC television show "Saturday Night Live."

She made fun of her reported \$2 million deal with Walt Disney Co. and she made fun of her troubles with her rival, Tonya Harding.

Kerrigan even made fun of her own skating — doing a slapstick pairs oomph with the beavysat cast member Chris Farley, with Kerrigan spinning gracefully around her sweating and clumsy partner.

But though she may be smooth on the ice, she stumbled on lines in her less-than-promising acting debut, looking uneasy and blowing phrases as simple as, "I'll be telling you our specials in a minute."

During the opening monologue, Kerrigan took questions from "the audience," including one performer dressed as Harding, who asked who would be host of the show next week.

Kerrigan also referred to a comment made while she sat next to Mickey Mouse at a Disney World parade in February. "I did not say 'This is the corniest thing I have ever done,' I said 'This is the corniest thing I have ever done,'" Kerrigan said.

At the close, Kerrigan hesitated before saying she had had a great time hosting the program.

(AP, Reuters)

Federal Court Declines To Prosecute Harding

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PORTLAND, Oregon — The chances that Tonya Harding will be prosecuted in connection with the attack on her rival, Nancy Kerrigan, appear to be growing slimmer.

The federal government said it was dropping the case, meaning that if Harding faces any criminal charges, they will have to come from state authorities.

"We have notified Oregon authorities that we think it would be best to leave it up to local authorities to pursue," John Russell, a spokesman for the Justice Department's criminal division, said.

Harding's ex-husband, Jeff Gillooly, and bodyguard, Shawn Eckardt, have admitted to plotting the attack in which Kerrigan was clubbed on the knee before the U.S. figure skating championships in January.

Since the assault took place in Detroit, Portland prosecutors have suggested the case be moved there, according to a Detroit newspaper.

But prosecutors to Michigan say Oregon is the best place for the case, since that's where most of the investigation has occurred.

Russell said the federal government was dropping the case because of concerns "about the prospects for establishing federal jurisdiction."

"The decision was made because the evidentiary and jurisdictional hurdles would be smaller at their level," Russell said, referring to state authorities.

An Oregon grand jury is still investigating Harding's possible involvement in the case and is due to deliver its report on March 21, although prosecutor Norm Frink said indictments were possible before then.

"Anything is possible," Frink said. "Other than that, we are not making any comments."

The criminal investigation is the

only possible obstacle to Harding's participation in the World Championships in Chiba, Japan, which start on March 20.

A federal judge decided Friday that a U.S. Figure Skating Association disciplinary hearing for Harding couldn't be held before June 27, in order to give Harding's attorney's enough time to prepare a defense.

"It's certainly unfortunate that we won't be able to have a swift and fair hearing," said Bill Hyhl, who heads the five-member panel that was to have conducted the USFSA hearing on whether Harding violated its code of ethics.

(AP, AFP)

White Sox Ready to 'Cut' An 'Overmatched' Jordan

The Associated Press

SARASOTA, Florida — After Michael Jordan went 0-for-2 and extended his hitless spring to 14 at-bats, the Chicago White Sox said that he would probably be reassigned to their minor-league camp within 10 days.

"In the next 10 days we'll make some cuts," said the general manager, Ron Schueler. "He'll probably be with that group. I think he's to the point where he's overmatched right now. It looks like he's afraid to make a mistake. He looks tentative."

Jordan did not start Saturday, and the White Sox manager, Gene Lamont, said he probably would be making fewer appearances. Jordan has started three games and appeared to eight. He has driven in two runs — on an RBI groundout Saturday and on a sacrifice fly.

"A lot of guys will start getting reduced time," Lamont said. "He's one of them. I don't know if he'll start as many games."

The first roster cuts are expected after Wednesday's final split-squad game.

Cameron Buchanan, A Man of the Cloth

By Suzy Menkes
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — When Ronald Reagan made his historic handshake with Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva in 1985, one man in Edinburgh was cheering in front of his television. Cameron Buchanan had recognized on the American president's back a distinctive brown-and-tan club-checked suit.

It put Reagan in that most exclusive of clubs — people who wear tailor-made suits in the featherlight fabric that Buchanan has patented as "Millionaire Cashmere." As managing director of Harrison's of Edinburgh, he has the power to influence the subtle shifts in taste that update men's suits.

"We British have been very bad about defining tradition and encapsulating it in a frame, but fashion moves on, and you have to take something and tweak it slightly," says Buchanan. He was named European Entrepreneur of the Year in 1992 for his unflinching energy in exporting 90 percent of his company's fine cloth.

As Buchanan puts it: "Tradition is always being redefined." The greatest change he sees is the substitution of lightweight fabrics for the former sturdy suitings and the increasing taste for colors like green and brown. A typical Harrison's tweed is light as a scarf and in a subtle mixture of autumnal colors.

"We go back a lot to old cloths and make them in lighter fabrics," he says. "In a way you can impose your taste — if you have got the brass to go for it."

The result of the experiments might be distinct checks in blue and red or bolder designs of larger green plaids, inspired by King Edward VII whose exotic mixes of tweed first put Scottish tweeds on the men's fashion map. Harrison's was founded in 1865 and its signature thistle logo was created for the first length of cloth to be exported to the United States in 1900.

Buchanan, 46, is typical of a new generation of businessmen who are building a united Europe while politicians squabble. He is constantly on the road, applauds the deregulation of air travel and, unlike other European Brits, would welcome ID cards instead of passports within the European Union. After spending periods at the Sorbonne in the 1960s and in Germany

and Italy, he speaks fluent French and Italian, and adequate German and Spanish.

Buchanan says, however, that there is not in fashion terms such a thing as "international man."

"The more I travel around and the more I visit countries, I become like a chameleon, taking on a little of each," he says. "But I can always tell where people come from."

The giveaway, he claims, is the feet: brown shoes with everything — even a blue suit — for the Italians; white socks for Germans; practical shoes for the Swiss.

The necktie offers not just "a bit of personality" but also clues to nationality, the northern man favoring a narrow tie and the southern a wider or cutaway collar.

Buchanan says that in a country like Italy, it is an advantage for him to look British and that he has his own personal trademark of a pin through his shirt collar. True to his cosmopolitan spirit, his pin-stripe oh-so-British suit was made in 1975 by Alfred Alm, the Danish tailor, just before his retirement. With it goes a candy-pink striped shirt and a navy tie with pink spots.

"I set the style — and I make it my way," he says.

Why should any man today choose a tailor-made suit with all the attendant fuss of fittings and a month-long wait — rather than just shopping off-the-peg like the yuppie generation of the 1980s?

"The Armani and Versace hip ready-to-wear look caught on in a big way," Buchanan admits. "People suddenly could identify with fashion, with green and beige suits that made them look trendy but well-dressed. They were worn by engineers and architects that before had the scruffy look."

"But tailor-made will always be there. It is the ultimate if you want expensive clothes that are a little distinct. It is for people who like to be associated with success."

His role as a purveyor of the most exclusive high-quality fabrics to the world's top tailors gives him an insight into a secret fashion association that does not tout its wares in plate-glass windows or glossy magazines, but where recommendations are instead passed by word of mouth.

He lists, first briskly, then with a few diplomatic additions, the foremost tailors. There are the Caracenis, Ferdinando in Milan and Tommy and Giulio in Rome; Henry Poole of Savile Row ("because they have adapted tradition and they are so successful abroad"); Rademacher in Düsseldorf; Alan Flusser in New York for "good distinctive taste"; Jack Taylor of

Beverly Hills; Charly Wayenberg in Brussels; Bauer of Stockholm; Laurence and Santos in Lisbon; Beletta in Barcelona. "I would pick those people because they are imposing taste on a customer," Buchanan says.

If he believes in the survival of the personal tailor, he is even more convinced that the business suit is here to stay — in spite of periodic stories that it is losing its hold.

"I don't believe that at all — the 'Friday mentality' is very American," he says, referring to the sports jacket and pants as acceptable pre-weekend wear to the office. He says that the Germans wear sports jackets all the time and the Dutch favor



Buchanan has patented a featherlight fabric called "Millionaire Cashmere."

blazers, but that men who do business still wear suits.

For all Buchanan's effort as a one-man export dynamo, his company turnover has not passed the £2 million (\$3 million) mark, and in the recession slipped to £1.2 million. He says that he is "actively looking for investment" to give the company a capital boost.

Someone in England certainly appreciates his eye for picking just the right cloth. Clients for Harrison's tweed caps include Hermès in Paris, Polo Ralph Lauren in New York — and Queen Elizabeth. The estate workers who doff a cap to Her Majesty are all wearing Buchanan's tasteful tweeds.

LANGUAGE

Of Hooky-Bobbing, Slang and Clout

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Following a cease-fire in Sarajevo, an Associated Press photographer captured a bappy sight: "Bosnian children could return to being children."

read the caption in The New York Times. "Hitching a slippery ride behind a United Nations armored vehicle."

Hitching a ride? To most of us, that means "thumbing a ride," asking a driver to pick you up. The action of the Bosnian children in the snow required a reach into dialect. Earlier that week, Beth Wagner of the AP reported from Philadelphia about the same dangerous but frequently engaged-in pastime: "It's called hopping cars in Philadelphia, bumper-hitching or shagging in Detroit, hitching along the Eastern Seaboard. In northern Indiana it's hooky-bobbing."

Not to mention blizzing in the Northwest and burning in Utah; all these denote the action of daring, often foolish, children who grab a ride on the back end of a moving vehicle. All but one of these regionalisms are reported, with careful notation of time and place, in the Dictionary of American Regional English. "I couldn't find any examples of shagging in this sense," says Joan Hall of DARE, "and am especially glad to get this."

Obviously, hooky-bobbing is a sport frowned on by parents all over the world, no matter what it is called. But it has a different name everywhere, and probably regionalisms within each major language. Collecting and describing the names, using a system of historical and geographical cross-references, is the work of regional lexicographers and dialectologists. In the United States, DARE at the University of Wisconsin is the best resource, building on earlier dictionaries of Americanisms; Fred Cassidy, its guiding light, scrounges for funds among foundations who do future generations a favor by supporting DARE's scholarly work.

The related field of slang, which is in many instances a national sublanguage, tends to get commercial sponsorship. Dictionaries of slang sell. Usually these are glossaries of a special field or subculture, but now Random House is preparing a full-scale dictionary of slang on historical principles and with detailed citations, which will do for nonstandard English what DARE is doing for regionalisms and what the Oxford English Dictionary Supplement did for the whole language.

Pick up a current newspaper and see how slang enlivens our lingo. "Before arriving at 7 A.M., he makes calls all along the way," Meg Cox of The Wall Street Journal writes about the media tycoon Rupert Murdoch. "Insiders say he runs his empire by phone and clone," and even admits to being a "phone freak."

What's a freak? The forthcoming Historical Dictionary of American Slang, edited by Jonathan Lighter, shows how the slang word developed along two senses. The first is "a person who is markedly or offensively eccentric in dress or behavior; weirdo." The first citation, earlier than any other dictionary's, is from Finley Peter Dunne's "Mr. Dooley" series in 1895: "The deluded of freak... had me up all last month." A year later, a fictional character objected to a "swell girl... holdin' on to some freak with side whiskers."

That sense cannot be what Rupert Murdoch has in mind in describing himself as a phone freak. The

second sense, which began developing at the same time, is "an ardent or extreme devotee, practitioner or enthusiast." Aha! A maven.

Now we have some solid data on which to ground our definition of the two senses of the slang term. Synonymists like me can then split hairs: an enthusiast is avid but inept, as is an aficionado; a connoisseur is a coolly judgmental expert; a maven is a scholarly nonexpert, often self-taught, who delights in the subject; a freak is someone who gets carried away by the subject beyond all good sense (though the term is less pejorative when used self-mockingly, as I will explain when Murdoch gets me on the phone).

Will the new dictionary have clout? When I once wrote that this term originated in New York politics, I was sharply taken to task by my colleague in column Mike Royko, who insisted it was a classic Chicagoism. The HDAS, as it will be known in scholarly circles, defines it as "political influence (hence) power." Jesse Shideler, a contributing editor to the forthcoming slang dictionary, offers a citation that antedates the earliest DARE reference by 70 years: "The provenance of the remarkably early 1868 quotation," he notes, "suggests that the term arose in New York, though it is now of national distribution; journalists often associate it with Chicago politics." (He doesn't want to get a blast from Royko.) The citation, earliest of anybody's, is from page 127 of "Dear Walt," a collection of letters to Walt Whitman; his brother Thomas Jefferson Whitman wrote, "Follows in Brooklyn... always think they are going to be deprived of office and 'clout.'" And a second sense is presented from police slang: "a politically influential friend or ally." A 1955 usage: "The 'rabbi' in New York police parlance is the 'clout' in Chicago."

The dictionary is scheduled for publication this spring. Slangists are itchy, on pins and needles, hot to trot, prepared to be freaked out.

Dr. Stephen Jones of Rockville, Maryland, calls me his patient. I like that word; it makes me feel secure. Dr. Richard Selzer, the surgeon and writer, once told a Mayo Medical School graduating class that the word patient comes from the Latin *pati*, "to suffer," adding: "Doctors have patients. This is, above all, what distinguishes us from lawyers, who have clients. We have patients, and they suffer."

Clients suffer, too, at the hands of some lawyers, but the distinction is valid. In recent years, however, a dehumanizing note has crept into the medical language. Patients have become health care consumers. Victor Cohn, the former Washington Post health columnist, was among the first to denigrate the trend toward calling doctors caregivers and healthcare (one word) producers; the new terms lump the MDs among less well-trained professionals. The big word now is provider, which has taken care of caregiver.

Thanks to the info explosion, it's spreading. I used to be a writer. Now I'm a content provider.

New York Times Service

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED
Appears on Page 12

WEATHER

Europe

	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F
Algeria	19/06	12/53	8	21/70	13/55	8
Amsterdam	11/52	4/39	0	8/46	2/35	0
Athens	12/53	1/01	0	12/53	2/36	0
Berlin	17/62	9/48	0	18/64	11/52	0
Bombay	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Buenos Aires	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Calcutta	8/46	0/34	0	10/46	1/21	0
Cairo	14/57	5/41	0	11/52	2/36	0
Cardiff	10/50	4/39	0	11/52	3/37	0
Cape Town	5/41	0/34	0	4/39	0/34	0
Chennai	12/53	0/34	0	8/46	1/21	0
Dublin	9/48	3/37	0	7/44	1/24	0
Edinburgh	10/50	4/39	0	11/52	3/37	0
Geneva	11/52	4/39	0	12/53	2/36	0
Helsinki	7/44	2/36	0	8/46	0/34	0
London	17/62	9/48	0	18/64	11/52	0
Los Angeles	19/66	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Madrid	17/62	9/48	0	18/64	11/52	0
Moscow	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Mumbai	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
New Delhi	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Paris	17/62	9/48	0	18/64	11/52	0
Perth	10/50	4/39	0	11/52	3/37	0
Rangoon	14/57	5/41	0	11/52	2/36	0
Reykjavik	8/46	0/34	0	10/46	1/21	0
Rome	17/62	9/48	0	18/64	11/52	0
Seoul	10/50	4/39	0	11/52	3/37	0
Shanghai	14/57	5/41	0	11/52	2/36	0
Singapore	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Taipei	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Tokyo	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0

Forecast for Tuesday through Thursday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



North America
Los Angeles and San Francisco will have dry weather Tuesday through Thursday with at least partial sun each day. A couple of showers will dampen Houston Tuesday and perhaps Tuesday and Wednesday. Windy breezes will blow in New York City Tuesday and Wednesday.

Europe
High winds will at times sweep through northwestern Europe from Britain and Ireland to southern Scandinavia and south to the Alps. Within this region there will also be spells of showery rain. In Spain, Portugal, Italy and southern France it will be mild and rather sunny.

Asia

	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F
Bangkok	28/82	20/68	14	29/84	20/68	14
Beijing	6/43	0/34	0	12/53	2/36	0
Bombay	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Calcutta	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Chennai	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Cairo	14/57	5/41	0	11/52	2/36	0
Cardiff	10/50	4/39	0	11/52	3/37	0
Cape Town	5/41	0/34	0	4/39	0/34	0
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Moscow	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Mumbai	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
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Seoul	10/50	4/39	0	11/52	3/37	0
Shanghai	14/57	5/41	0	11/52	2/36	0
Singapore	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Taipei	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Tokyo	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0

Africa

	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F
Algeria	19/66	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Amsterdam	11/52	4/39	0	12/53	2/36	0
Athens	12/53	1/01	0	12/53	2/36	0
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Mumbai	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
New Delhi	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
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Shanghai	14/57	5/41	0	11/52	2/36	0
Singapore	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0
Taipei	15/59	4/39	0	17/62	6/43	0
Tokyo	18/64	10/50	0	20/68	12/53	0

Latin America

	48 Alphabet quarant
	49 Unmixed, as a drink
	51 Character actor George
	54 Starts
	58 In the thick of
	59 Be afraid to offend
	60 Hope of Hollywood
	61 Manhattan campus
	62 Gamblers' game
	63 Boorish
	64 Some combos
	65 Sharp put-down
	DOWN
	1 --- Romeo (automobile)
	2 Hip
	3 De --- (too much)
	4 Words before "red" or "running"
	5 Literary sister
	6 Give some slack
	7 Maneuver slowly